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# y Cymmrodor.

THE MAGAZINE

OF THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

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## CONTENTS.

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Grant of Arms to the National Library of Wales. By the EDITOR, with <i>Facsimile</i> , and a Translation by J. A. BRADNEY, F.S.A. . . . .	1
The Celt in Ancient History. By the Rev. G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A., D.D., D.Litt., Rector of Nutfield, Surrey . .	5
Ritual and Romance: An Appreciation. By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, LL.D., F.S.A. . . . .	48
Gildas and Modern Professors. By the Rev. A. W. WADE- EVANS, Vicar of France Lynch, Glos. . . . .	60
The Origin of the Welsh Grammar School. By L. STANLEY KNIGHT, M.A., Swansea . . . . .	81
Adam Usk's Epitaph. By Sir J. MORRIS-JONES, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Welsh at the University College of North Wales, Bangor (with a <i>Facsimile</i> reproduction of the Epitaph) . . . . .	112
Adam of Usk. By W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, K.C., Recorder of the City of Cardiff . . . . .	135
Cultural Bases: A Study of the Tudor Period in Wales. By Professor T. GWYNN JONES, M.A., University College of Wales, Aberystwyth . . . . .	161
Darnau o'r Efyngylau. Gan yr Athro HENRY LEWIS, M.A., Prif Ysgol Abertawe (with a <i>Facsimile</i> of Havod MS. 22)	193
The Chapter of Llandaff Cathedral, 1561-1668. By the Venerable C. A. H. GREEN, D.D., Archdeacon of Mon- mouth . . . . .	217
The Speech of William Blethin, Bishop of Llandaff, and the Customs and Ordinances of the Church of Llandaff (1575). By JOSEPH ALFRED BRADNEY, C.B., M.A., F.S.A. . .	240





# I Cymmrodor.

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VOL. XXXI. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1921.

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## Grant of Arms to the National Library of Wales.<sup>1</sup>

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It was decided some time ago by the President and Governors of the National Library of Wales that it would be desirable to apply to the College of Heralds for a grant of arms. This was accordingly done. It will be observed from the facsimile of the grant, which by the courtesy of the Library Authorities we are enabled to present to our readers, that not only did Garter King of Arms consider the Library worthy of a shield and crest, but also of supporters.

It is the custom to make out the grants of arms to private individuals in the English language, but in the case of learned societies, such as colleges and universities, they have been issued in Latin, and in the case of the National Library of Wales the Heralds rightly decided to follow the ancient precedents.

<sup>1</sup> The Editor of *I Cymmrodor*, who with Colonel Bradney, C.B., and Sir Evan D. Jones, Bart., acted as a Sub-Committee of the Council of the National Library of Wales in arranging the details and the terms of the Grant of Arms, deems it right to state that the enquiries involved were carried out, and the expenses connected therewith were defrayed, by Colonel Bradney, of Talycoed, Monmouth, who has been good enough to supply *I Cymmrodor* with the following translation of the text of the Grant.

The armorial bearings at the head of the grant are, in the centre the arms of King George, in the dexter the Earl Marshal, on the sinister The Heralds College.

The three seals appendant are those of Garter, Clarenceux and Norroy Kings of Arms.

The arms combine the dragon of Wales together with the attributes of learning, books both open and closed. The parchment roll in the paw of the dragon signifies one of the objects of the Library, the preservation of ancient manuscripts. The motto adopted is the pithy Welsh proverb "Braint pob Gwybodaeth".

GRANT OF ARMS TO THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF  
WALES: TRANSLATION.

To All and Singular to whom these Presents shall come Sir Henry Farnham Burke, Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Garter Principal King of Arms, Charles Harold Athill, Esquire, Member of the Royal Victorian Order, Clarenceux King of Arms, and William Alexander Lindsay, Esquire, Norroy King of Arms, one of the King's Counsel, Greeting. *Whereas* Sir John Williams, Baronet, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order, President of the National Library of Wales hath demonstrated to the Right Honourable Edmund Bernard Talbot, (commonly called Lord Edmund Bernard Talbot) one of the King's Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order, Companion of the Distinguished Service Order, and Deputy to the Most Noble Bernard Marmaduke, Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England, that the late King Edward the Seventh by his Royal Charter under the Great Seal of Great Britain and Ireland dated the 19th day of March in the year 1907, graciously willed and ordained

that there should be constituted, which was then done, a Library in the Borough of Aberystwyth in the County of Cardigan by the name of *The National Library of Wales*, by which name the Governors of the Library thereby created and defined were to be constituted, and were then constituted, in one political and corporate body with perpetual succession and a Common Seal, and *whereas* the aforesaid President on behalf of himself and his fellows, the Governors of the aforesaid Library, being desirous of having honourable devices to be used by them as a Common Seal hath prayed that his lordship should warrant us to grant and assign Arms, Crest and Supporters which according to the laws of Arms may be borne on Seals, Shields and in other places, And *whereas* his Lordship aforesaid by his warrant under his hand and seal and under the Seal of the Earl Marshal dated the 18th of March last has warranted us and directed that we should grant to the aforesaid Library armorial bearings, *Know therefore* that we the aforesaid Garter, Clarenceux, and Norroy, agreeably to his lordship's warrant and in virtue of the Letters Patent to each of us granted, by these Letters Patent do grant and assign to the aforesaid Library these arms following, namely Sable, on a fesse between three open books Argent embellished Or a Lion passant guardant Gules; and as a Crest, on a Wreath of the Colours a Dragon passant Gules holding in the dexter paw a parchment Roll proper tied with a ribband Azure. And whereas a Society so honourable appears worthy of supporters, I, the aforesaid Garter, by virtue of the power to me given, do grant and assign the following supporters, namely, on either side a Dragon Gules each gorged with a collar and suspended therefrom by a chain Or a closed book embellished Gold, as in the margin more plainly appears, to have and to hold to the same Sir John Williams and the Governors of the aforesaid Library

#### 4 *Grant of Arms to National Library of Wales.*

and their successors for ever, to the use and behalf of the said Library according to the laws of arms. In witness whereof we the aforesaid Garter, Clarenceux and Norroy, Kings of Arms, have subscribed with our hands our names and have affixed the Seals of our Offices. Dated at London the 12th November in the tenth year of the reign of King George the Fifth, by the grace of God King of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, and in the year of our Lord, 1919.

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# The Celt in Ancient History.

By THE REV. G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A., D.D.,  
D.LITT., *Rector of Nutfield, in Surrey.*

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## CHAPTER I.

### *The Celtic Warrior.*

THE Celtic domain has been called an Empire, but, strictly speaking, the term is a misnomer, except in the sense in which it applies to the German State which lasted from the tenth century to the eighteenth. For an empire presupposes not only a vast range and a variety of racial elements, but also a unity of governing power which the Celts did not attain. So far as we are acquainted with them, in an era scarcely historical, they occupied an area as large as the Russian dominions up to 1917, and formed a loose aggregate of communities framed in a large measure on the same model.

A branch of the Aryan or Indo-European family of races, which made their way from the plains of Asia in the dim distance of the earliest antiquity, probably by a circuitous route skirting the Caucasus and the northern coast of the Black Sea, they had migrated to Europe probably in the neolithic period; their original habitat and the sphere of their language in Europe lay on the borders of the Rhine, Main and Danube, and was almost coterminous with the modern Hesse Darmstadt, the Grand Duchy of Baden, Würtemberg and Northern Bavaria. They exhibited closer affinities with the Latins than with the Teutons. They became known to the Greeks as the Hyperboreans

(or extreme Northerners), and when noticed by classical authors they were steadily emerging from a tinselled barbarism.

The centuries rolled by, and the Celtic domain, "Celticum", or ἡ Κελτική, took into its compass immense tracts of territory and was bounded by the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Danube, Thrace, Scythia, the Balkans, Britain, Ireland, and Caledonia (or Scotland as we now call it) and for several centuries the Celts were paramount in most of these regions. Thus the Celtic dominion, by the imposing extent and duration of its power, fulfilled two conditions of Empire.

It is here proposed to choose a few salient features of the early history of the Celts—their conquests, culture and religion,—until they in their turn were eclipsed by races who came after them and entered into their labours.

First of all, let us take their military character. The Celts are justly regarded as a warrior people;<sup>1</sup> indeed, the profession of arms by its appeal to the imagination generally commands the almost undivided admiration of a rising but uncivilised people. Cæsar (no mean judge) pays an ungrudging tribute to the fighting qualities of the Celts and especially praises their dash; other writers could not withhold their appreciation of Celtic prowess, but tempered their admiration with certain qualifications. Thus, for example, we are told that, impetuous at the first onset, they rapidly melted in the heat of the fray. The warriors were not of necessity numerous, nor did their warlike spirit desert them, even when faced by overwhelming odds and military methods to which they were strangers.

The dominant characteristic of the chiefs was their love of military renown, which they sought at all hazards. We shall have occasion to illustrate this traditional trait

<sup>1</sup> cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 11.

at a later stage. Again, the Celts, as a whole, whether chieftains or the rank and file, plumed themselves on their indifference to death.<sup>1</sup> They had a passion for duelling. Ajax-like, they defied the natural elements; convulsions of nature, inundations, earthquakes could not quell their spirit. They tore open wounds sustained in battle. They cheerfully bowed down before the eyes of a crowd and submitted to the executioner's axe without a murmur, while, in some cases, the priests and singers standing by held out hopes of their heads being restored to their bodies. They offered their throats to the knife in return for gifts of money or wine, which, with true Celtic hospitality and in the genuine spirit of comradeship, they distributed to their companions before meeting the fatal stroke.

There never was a lack of Celtic gladiators in the Coliseum at Rome or provincial amphitheatres. One of the favourite types of these swordsmen bore a Celtic name; while the *retiarius* pursued his adversary, the *murmillo*,<sup>2</sup> along the arena and tried to entangle him in the toils of his net, as a preliminary to spearing him with his trident, he chanted the couplet:—

Non te peto, piscem peto;  
Quid me fugis, Galle?

Many thrilling episodes relating to the Celts' passion for single combat<sup>3</sup> are narrated by the Roman historians, for example, the impressive scene in Livy where two cousins, repudiating Scipio's offer of mediation, insisted on settling a family feud in the presence of the contending Roman and Spanish armies. We also recall the Celtic chief, hero of another episode, who hurled defiance at the opposing Roman army, and in a harangue to his men declared that

<sup>1</sup> Valerius Maximus, ii, 6, 11; Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, 2, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Also spelt *mirmillo*, a Gaulish gladiator. Festus, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Livy, xxi, 42.



their antagonists were scarcely enough to furnish a dog's breakfast. Such are some of the features of Celtic valour recorded by Roman authors. There was, indeed, a darker side to the picture, if ancient authorities may be believed; the Celts were inconstant; they gave no quarter; they offered insult to a fallen foe; they expected the captives of their sword or spear to meet their fate with a stoicism equal to their own, and cheerfully to ascend the funeral pyre of a dead chief or take part in gladiatorial shows, to glut the eyes and ears of the populace at these orgies of blood. The underlying motive of this natural and cultivated fortitude was the thirst for fame, the confident belief that their names would live on, sung by the bardic fraternity, and "flit on men's lips" from generation to generation.

Antecedently, it might be supposed that the martial courage of the race would be mirrored in its mythology. So it proves; constant warfare, which was their very life, especially with the migratory Celts, demanded war divinities. Among them none was more prominent than the deity whom the Roman writers (according to a recognised principle in Comparative Religion, namely syncretism) identified with Mars, though the Celts themselves hardly differentiated him from their god Mercury. Thus Mars is adorned with various titles all denoting might. He is Armogius, Marmogius, Mogetius and Olludius, titles containing the elements *mogo*, *ollo*, meaning "great". He is "strong", Camulus; the "hero", Netos, Carrus; the "flesh-destroyer", Cicollius; "beautiful when he slays", Belatucadros; he is "leader of hosts", Budenicus, Dunatis. He is the "first", Leherenus; "the mighty", Segomon; the "king" and "lord", Barrex, Rigisamus. He is the "day bright god", Dinomogetimarus, Divanno, Leucetius, Leucimalakus. It is highly probable that these attributes



in the first instance attached to tribal-war-gods, such as Camulos, Teutates,<sup>1</sup> Albiorix, Caturix, who multiplied as the Celts developed into a conquering nation, and that in the Celtic imagination these lesser deities gradually grouped themselves around Mars or merged their personalities in his.

Nor was the prowess of the Celts confined to operations on land. Cæsar refers with admiration to the nautical skill of the Veneti, a tribe who occupied a district almost at the extreme point of Armorica (now Brittany). The author shall speak for himself :—

“The Veneti exercise by far the most extensive authority over all the seacoast in those districts, for they have numerous ships, in which it is their custom to sail to Britain, and they excel the rest in the theory and practice of navigation. As the sea is very boisterous and open, with but a few harbours here and there, they have as tributaries almost all those whose custom is to sail the sea”.

Our author describes the enemy's ships in detail, notices their strength and the use of iron chains instead of cables for securing the anchors, and proceeds :—

“When our fleet encountered these ships, it proved its superiority only in speed and oarsmanship ; in all other respects, having regard to the locality and the force of the tempests, the others were more suitable and adaptable.”<sup>2</sup>

Here may be introduced another feature of Celtic warfare which at once reflects the character of the Celtic warriors, and calls for special mention, because in an altered guise it survived the adoption of Christianity well into the Middle Ages, namely, the cult of weapons. This was founded on a belief that weapons were endowed with life or tenanted by spirits, or, according to a Christian chronicler, by demons—a survival of a primitive animism

<sup>1</sup> From *teuta*, tribe.

<sup>2</sup> *De Bello Gallico*, iii, 8, 13. See the rest of 13.

in the Christian era. Similarly, at Athens sentence was passed on the axe or knife used by a murderer, together with the criminal. Magic powers were ascribed to the arms of gods and heroes. The hammer-god, Dispatēr, figures in the Celtic pantheon. He wields the hammer, that implement being probably symbolical of divine creative energy, and traces of the cult of the hammer are discernible in monuments, inscriptions and legend. Aesus, another Celtic deity, wields the axe. A dancing warrior with an axe or sword in his hand, performing a ritual act, figures on Gaulish coins. That the cult lived on appears from an observance mentioned in the 16th century in Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*.<sup>1</sup> The poet describes a ritual act performed by Irish warriors in his day, reciting prayers or chanting incantations around a weapon planted in the ground.<sup>2</sup> A similar belief is embodied in the tale told of the hilted sword which Tethra, king of the Fomarians, lost in his hurried flight from the battlefield:—

“It was in this battle that Ogma, the champion, obtained Ornai, the sword of Tethra the king. Ogma obtained the sword and cleaned it. Then the sword related all the deeds that had been performed by it; for it was the custom of swords at this time, when opened, to recount the deeds that had been performed by them. And it is therefore that swords are entitled to the tribute of cleaning them, whenever they are opened. It is on this account, too, that charms are preserved in swords, from that time down. Now, the reason why demons were accustomed to speak from weapons at that time was because arms were worshipped, and arms were among the protections (or sanctuaries) of those times”.<sup>3</sup>

These are by no means isolated examples. In Breton songs warriors swear by swords, and in Irish lore songs are addressed to them. But what is of particular interest in

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1809, pp. 97, 175, 275.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Blanchet *Traité de Monnaies*, I, 160-1.

<sup>3</sup> cf. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the ancient Irish*. (1873) ii, 54.

this connection is to note that these usages are the originals of the legend of the Divine sword in mystic form, "the glaive of light" of the Arthurian romance and Celtic folk-tales, a conspicuous example of which is presented by King Arthur's trusty sword Excalibur.

Such were some of the features of Celtic warfare. The value of Celtic methods and weapons and the lessons learnt in campaigns against the Celts were not lost upon their rivals, the Romans, who, as the Latin language shows, were not slow to adopt certain Celtic military terms and tactics.

The profession of arms did not cease, with the downfall of Celtic dominion, to possess an attraction for the Celts who owned a foreign sway. For enlisting in the auxiliary forces of Rome they found scope for their superabundant energies in this new channel, fighting under the Roman Eagle in Europe or beyond the seas.

In this connection interest attaches to Britain, properly speaking, Caledonia, Scotland, and Ireland. As early as the second century of the Christian era, British youth flocked to the Roman standard and served in distant dependencies of the Empire. There was much point and truth in the British chief Calgacus's complaint, by which he fired the British to revolt:—

"Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit; hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur".<sup>1</sup>

Traces of their presence in Italy, Asia Minor, Syria and North Africa are found in Latin and Greek inscriptions.

Their readiness to take up arms on behalf of Rome and fight shoulder to shoulder with blue-eyed Gaul, ebony-

<sup>1</sup> "Nature ordained that each man's children and relatives should be best beloved; these are carried away by levies, to serve in the ranks". Tacitus, *Agricola*, 31, cf. 29. British cohorts served under Vitellius in Italy, Id. *Histories*, i, 70.

faced African and swarthy Spaniard in defence of the tottering empire reacted prejudicially on Britain. It is probable that one of the causes why the Britons were exposed to incessant attacks from Pict and Scot was that the flower of British manhood were either carried away or volunteered to fight abroad in the Roman ranks. Maxim Wledig's aspirations after the Imperial purple forcibly appealed to the imagination of the British youth whom he had commanded in Britain. He was reported to belong to the British race, and his personality challenged their admiration ; so they promptly responded to his summons and girded on their armour to fight in his cause. Meanwhile, their own country became a prey to the onslaughts of marauders from the North.

No less enthusiastic in the cause of Rome were the Scots. From being the implacable and inveterate foes of the Empire, while its warlike energies flagged and vigorous life was fading at its extremities, the Hibernian Scots came to form a more favourable opinion of Rome. Again, the Emperor Theodosius, while suppressing the piratical attacks on the part of the Irish, had been struck by the warlike qualities of the enemy. Accordingly, instead of massacring his prisoners, the Attacots, who inhabited the South-West parts of Scotland and the Northern parts of Ireland, he organised them and incorporated them in his army. They made a distinguished figure in the *Notitia dignitatum*, and no wonder, for we learn on the authority of no less a person than St. Jerome, who saw them in garrison at Trèves, that these tribes, who hailed from the "abode of eternal snow", fed on human flesh.

The annals of Ireland speak of a certain Irish warrior named Altus in the Roman army, who was present at Our Lord's crucifixion, and was so profoundly impressed by what met his eye and ear that he returned to preach the

Faith to his countrymen. Sir Samuel Ferguson in his "Lays of the Western Gael" has embodied this Irish tradition in the following lines:—

“And they say Centurion Altus,  
When he to Emania came,  
And to Rome's subjection called us,  
Urging Cæsar's tribute claim;  
Told that half the world barbarian  
Thrilled already with the faith  
Taught them by the God-like Syrian,  
Cæsar lately put to death”.

This is legend, but, then, legends often enshrine valuable truths, and there is no wild improbability in the supposition that British troops who were sent to garrison Syria or Asia Minor may, in the course of military changes, have found their way to Jerusalem. At any rate, the thousands of Scots who placed their adventurous swords at the service of the French kings or buckled on their armour to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the grasp of the Infidel were only following a tradition handed down from the first centuries of the Roman Empire.

## CHAPTER II.

### *The Celt in Germany.*

By an easy transition we pass from the subject of Celtic warfare to the era of Celtic conquests.

The history of the primitive populations whom the Celts overcame falls within the palæolithic or neolithic age. Of these, some belonged to pre-Aryan or (to use the German equivalent) Indo-European strata, and those went down before the flood of Celtic invaders. The struggle with the Aryan peoples was far sterner, far more protracted.

Let us glance at some of the powerful tribes with whom the Celts came into collision.

The conflict with the Germans was chequered by alternations of success and failure, for of the martial ardour of the German race at that early day there is abundant evidence. At first the Celts imposed their yoke on their German neighbours north of the River Elbe,<sup>1</sup> and for several centuries dominated them until the star of the Celts declined, about 300 B.C. Their right to supremacy was well won; Cæsar pronounced the Gauls "just and warlike" and declared that they surpassed the Germans in valour.<sup>2</sup> At that age, therefore, the Rhine flowed within the Celtic domain and "The watch on the Rhine" ("Die Wacht am Rhein") might at that early day have been sung in a Celtic version. But, further, the Celts crossed the Elbe, the line of demarcation between the Gaulish and German states, at various points, for example, in Silesia, and they probably kept in subjection the German tribes between the Elbe and the Vistula. Indeed, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing at the end of the first century B.C., regarded Germany as part of Celtic territory.

It is not our intention to enter into many particulars, but, as Germany, its aims and acts, are fresh within our recollection, a few details may be considered in point here. Language casts gleams of light on the relative position of the ancient Germans and Celts. The very name Rhine is of Celtic origin, being derived from the Celtic "*Renos*", which is akin to the Latin *riuos*, "*riuos*", "brook", and reappears in the Irish *rían*, with the still nobler connotation of "sea".<sup>3</sup> Again, on the left of the Main, a tributary of

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar (*De Bello Gallico* vi, 24) was probably mistaken in stating that the Celts first settled in Gaul and then worked their way eastward. On the contrary, it is now certain that the Celts were domiciled beyond the Rhine, and the Roman historian says of the Gaulish settlement in Germany, "the Gaulish inhabitants of that region were just and warlike".

<sup>2</sup> *cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent.*

<sup>3</sup> See also Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, in verb.



the Rhine, runs the River Tauber ; the Latin form of the Tauber is Dubra, a feminine name, which was originally the nominative plural of the neuter word *dubron*, "water".

Yet again, on the Main were situated three Celtic towns, *Loco-ritum*, now Lohr in North Bavaria; *Segodunum*, now Würzburg; and *Deuona*, Bamberg. The fact is, Celtic place-names occur in many parts of modern Germany, as in Holstein in the North, so in Westphalia and other places in the South.

The evidence bearing on relations between the Gaulish and German fighting men is suggestive. Germans were pressed into Gaulish armies, or, as is likely, volunteered for military service, but they were kept in the lower ranks. Celtic military terms found their way into the German language. One of these is *barditus* (lit. "song of the bards") which appears in the Welsh *barddau*, *bardatos*, "science of the bards". Tacitus,<sup>1</sup> writing at the end of the first century of the Christian era, acquaints us that the Germans applied the word *barditus* to the poems which they sang before battle in honour of their dead heroes. But why, it may be asked, borrow a Celtic term? The inference is that at the time when they were Gaulish subjects they marched to battle chanting in chorus war songs composed by Gaulish bards in the Gaulish language.

The Celtic chiefs reaped the glory, the Germans of the rank and file were content with falling upon the spoils. The Celtic word for victory, "*bodi*" has lived on in German but has assumed a new meaning, "*beute*", "booty". Truly did the Roman poet say:—

*Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Germania*, 3.

<sup>2</sup> "You may drive out Nature with a pitchfork; yet she will ever come running back again".

The Germans not only adopted military expressions current among their Celtic masters but also transmitted them to their northern neighbours. We find in old Scandinavia a reminiscence of the ascendancy of the Gaulish warriors over the German population. The Scandinavians called their goddess of war Hildr; Hildr is an adaptation of the Frankish name Childis, which appears in the proper name Brune-childis, and is simply the Germanised feminine of the masculine Celta. Again, the Finns received from the Germans certain names of Celtic origin. Such is the word *rikki*, "kingdom". Nor is this a solitary example of loanwords passed on by the Germans from the Celts to the races north of the Baltic.

Celtic loanwords embedded in the German vocabulary, like flies fixed in amber, are found not only in the terminology of war but also in the language of civil life and civil institutions. We all know the fondness of German magnates for official distinctions and for strutting about swathed in innumerable titles, or sweeping along with what Mark Twain called "titular avalanches". Here are a few specimens dating from the period of which we have been speaking. An old German word for king, now superseded by the term *könig*, was the original Celtic *rix*, and it formed an element in the Finnish word *rikki*, "kingdom", already mentioned. In like manner, the German word for empire, *reich*, is identical with the Celtic *rígion*, a trace of which survives in the old Irish *ríge*. Those who live or travel in Germany frequently meet with the word *amt*, "function", "office"; it comes from an older form *ambahti*, and this in its turn is derived from the Celtic *ambactos*, "agent", "employé". This term also the Germans handed on to the Southern Finns, with whom it takes the form *ammatti*, "function", "office". The presence of such names common to the



German and Celtic languages but unknown elsewhere, remaining as fossilized history or silent records, testify to the prevalence of the Celtic tongue and the widespread range of Celtic dominion, even at the time of its decadence in the third century before the Christian era.

The Celts, then, compelled the German tribes to open a path for their valour; they profoundly influenced them in various departments of life, except in the province of religion; they moulded German institutions. But a day came when the votaries of Odin or Wotan, spirit of wind or storm, who revelled in orgies of blood, and of his son Donar or Thor, the god of thunder, who beguiled the tedium of leisure by wild revels and drinking bouts, and the worshippers of the beautiful Valkyries, battlemaidens who gloated over human suffering, burst their bonds asunder. War, glorious war, was the breath of their nostrils. Under such divine auspices the Germans poured into the Celtic territories; the inward impulse of gigantic energy and brutal cupidity urged them forward; ambition and love of destruction frenzied them, and they joyfully confronted every peril, every obstacle which lay in their course, on their errands of fire and carnage, to win immortal glory by inflicting untold pain. The hour of doom had struck for Celtic domination, and these German warriors, possessed of more staying power, more capable of enduring heat, sickness and hunger than Gauls,<sup>1</sup> dislodged their former masters from the greater part of the region between the Elbe and the Rhine.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *The Celt in Gaul.*

The scene now changes to the country which the Romans named Gallia (Gaul) and we call France. This is

<sup>1</sup> Livy, v, 48.

in accordance with a law of human nature. The more favoured countries of the earth are the natural seats of civilization, and these are the very objects of the cupidity of northern races who are at once more warlike and less refined. Accordingly, the rude warrior quits his icebound crags, his desolate steppes, or his burning sands, for the sunny hills or the well-watered meadows of the temperate zone; and when he has made good his footing in his new abode, what was the incentive to his conquest becomes the instrument of his education. The remark applies both to the Celts and the Germans that crossed the Rhine and settled in France.

The Celts in the course of their multitudinous emigrations invaded Gaul on two separate occasions. One wave passed over between 700 and 500 B.C., probably about 600 B.C. These occupied the southern part of the Netherlands, Belgium, and two thirds of Gaul, which coincided with the Northern and Western departments of modern France. The second great invasion perhaps occurred towards 300 B.C. or not much later;<sup>1</sup> at any rate by 218 B.C. the Celts had spread across Gaul, for in that year the Carthaginian Hannibal, as he crossed the South of Gaul, in his march from Spain to Italy, only met with Gauls. Nature seems to have prescribed a route for the retiring Gauls, and for the Germans likewise who, following in their wake, settled in a region between the Rhine, Seine and Marne, and finally in the Rhone basin. For about five centuries the Gauls enjoyed an independence in their new abodes. But they were not destined to remain in undisturbed possession of the territory; in process of time they, in their turn, partly because of their internal dissensions,<sup>2</sup> succumbed to a race with which they had closer affinities than with any other

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps at the same time as the Gaulish expedition to Delphi, 279 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 12.

branch of the Aryan or Indo-European family, namely the races of Latin blood. Against Roman military science, engineering skill, military organisation, appliances, and experience gained in a hundred campaigns, they could not prevail. Ultimately, but sullenly, after a stubborn and prolonged contest, after rebellion upon rebellion had been quenched in blood, they surrendered, and Gaul became a Roman province. The evenhanded toleration that the conquerors extended to them went far towards mitigating the humiliation of defeat, towards reconciling the Gauls to their masters and blending conquerors and conquered into one nation.<sup>1</sup> They were allowed to retain their typical institutions, their system of road measurements, their cantonal organisation and, for the most part, their religion.

They adopted the Latin language in its debased form, namely, Low Latin; nay, more, they exerted a reciprocal influence on the language of Rome. Thus, for example, Irenæus, a Greek by birth, who, towards the end of the second century of our era, served the Church at Lyons, excuses the defects of his style on the ground that he lives among Celts and is constantly compelled to employ a "barbarian" language. A legal treatise on wills and testaments, which dates from the beginning of the third century, points in the same direction. The law prescribed the use of Latin or Greek, but Punic (*i.e.* Carthaginian) or Gallic was sometimes allowed. Indeed, Gaulish was spoken in Gaul even down towards the end of the era of Roman rule. Gaulish place-names and proper names in France abound even to the present hour, to attest the vitality of the Gaulish language.

Then came Rome's turn. The fourth century rang the

<sup>1</sup> cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 13 and 19, *parum profici armis, si iniuriæ sequerentur.*

knell of the age-long, all-powerful Empire. Civil disorder, internecine strife and moral relaxation had sapped its strength. Alike in the East and the West the hammer-strokes dealt by barbarian hordes with distracting alternation, or with devastating simultaneity, dismembered the Empire, dissolved the fabric of the old world, tore its civilization to fragments, and so Rome fell. The ensuing confusion flung open the sluices to a flood of northern invaders. More German hosts, whom neither Julius Cæsar nor Germanicus had ever succeeded in bringing under the Roman sway, so long as they were entrenched in their impenetrable forests and soaking swamps, now swept in, like a tempest let loose, across the Rhine; Burgundian, Visigoth, Frank followed one another and pushed still further the German arms.

The French are to-day a mosaic of elements, and not the least of them is the Germanic, but as a result of the play of forces intermingling and combining, intersecting and conflicting, Germany has come to regard France as its inveterate enemy. Singular revolution, that these near relatives, who so deeply influenced one another in a pre-historic past, should have been brought to view one another as irreconcilable foes!

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### *The Celt in the Balkans and Italy.*

The causes that impelled the Gauls south and west of the Rhine also drove them south of the Danube, where they continued to exhibit the same mental characteristics as in other regions where they had taken up their abode. Their progress can be traced in the Balkans. It would be idle to try and unravel here the threads of the tangled skein

and pick out the Celtic elements in that peninsula, so we content ourselves with one or two illustrations taken from the names of rivers. The Illyrian and Eastern name for the Danube was Istros or Ister; it was the Celts that gave it the name Danube, viz., Danuuios, which appears to be closely akin to the Irish adjective *dána*, “bold”, “intrepid”. Tributaries of the Danube probably derived their titles from the same source. Near Ratisbon the Danube is joined by three streams bearing the name Laber, which is no other than the Celtic *labara*, “prattling”, “resounding”. Another tributary is the Lauterach; *ach* is only a suffix; *lauter* (=lautron “bath”) is identical with *lautro* of the Gaulish glossary, and Irish *lothur*, “canal”. With this remark we leave the Balkans to follow the footprints of the Celts in a southerly direction.

The Alps, as we have seen, offered no insurmountable barrier to the progress of the Celts. As with other barbarians who swooped down from the *officina gentium*, as the Roman antiquary calls the North—viz., the factory of nations—so with the Celts the compelling motive was the search for more favourable conditions of existence. But in one respect at least the Celts appear to advantage, they refrained from such crimes against civilisation as marked the path of Vandal and Hun.

There was one country which was well calculated to excite the cupidity of a race accustomed only to the rigours of a northern climate; it was a country recommended by richness of soil, fabulous fertility, perfection of cultivation, exquisiteness of produce and amenity of climate<sup>1</sup>—a country which was from time immemorial

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy v, 33.

invested with a fascination, and its spell remains undisipated to this day. That country was Italy, and its capital Rome,

Qua nihil in terris complectitur amplius æther.

("Than which heaven embraces nothing nobler on earth".)

At this point we step down from the barbarian twilight and the misty region of legendary lore to the firmer ground of historic evidence; now Pliny, Livy, and other authors come to our aid. Ultimately the Celts arrived in Northern Italy. The prominent figures in this drama are Ambigatus ("He who gives battle on every side") king of the Celts in Gaul, and his two nephews, Bellouesus ("He who knows how to slay") and Sigouesus ("He who knows how to conquer"). Ambigatus belonged to the powerful tribe of Bituriges. Tarquinius Priscus, father of the tyrant of execrable memory, then sat on the throne of Romulus. The motive of the Celtic migration here as elsewhere was a redundancy of population and a lack of sustenance. Ambigatus was now advanced in years; accordingly he sent forth his nephews with large swarms of his people to seek new settlements in other climes. Bellouesus and Sigouesus drew lots; the latter betook himself to the Hercynian forest (Bohemia), the former to Italy. The classical authors furnish the names of the Gaulish tribes whom he led, and place-names bear out their statements.<sup>1</sup>

The Gauls had thus carried the war into the inner lines (to adopt a modern military term), into the heart of the Roman Empire, into the Italian peninsula, and constituted a standing menace to the Roman dominion. But a formidable power barred the way to the walls of Rome. The Etruscans were established in the basin of the River Po, and had repressed an earlier, apparently a Ligurian,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, v, 33, 34.



stratum of population. The oppressed people hailed the Celts as their deliverers. To their attitude in some measure must be ascribed the rapid advance of the Gauls towards the Roman capital. In 390 they penetrated into Etruria, the modern Tuscany, crossed the Arno and reached Clusium, now Chiusi.<sup>1</sup> They were now on the floodtide of victory, and the very name of Gaul struck consternation even into the hearts of the Roman Senate. After repeated efforts to back the invaders in full career, the Romans tried to achieve by diplomacy what they failed to accomplish by force of arms; and in 389 B.C. they indulged the hope of engaging the Gauls in an alliance against the Etruscans and stay their course. Vain illusion! The Gauls resumed their march.

It is an old story and familiar, how the Gauls carried dismay into the utmost borders of Italy,<sup>2</sup> how, viewed through the distorting medium of hate and fear, they were transfigured into phantoms, how the Romans sustained a severe defeat at the Allia, how "*Dies Aliensis*" ("the day of the battle of Allia") ever after denoted an ominous day in the Roman calendar and passed into a proverb for a day of sinister import and disastrous augury.<sup>3</sup> The Gauls did not draw rein until they reached the gates of Rome, and finally—unthinkable outrage!—they held the Roman people to ransom. It is to the vivid pages of the imaginative and picturesque writer, Livy, that we turn for a narrative of these irruptions. The historian probably based some of his accounts on family records and the traditions handed down by courtly chroniclers, who, we may be sure, were not likely to minimise the exploits of their patrons' ancestors, a Camillus or a Manlius Torquatus. But after making allowance for the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, v, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Livy, v, 32-37.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Livy, v, 48.

historian's personal predilections and his wish to ingratiate himself with the descendants of his heroes or to glorify the name of Rome, the fact remains that the Celts at this period made Rome tremble and that for centuries the name Gaul was a nightmare.

#### CHAPTER V.

##### *The Celt in Asia Minor.*

The Ægean Sea set no limit to the migrations of the Celts. A host of them had swept over Macedonia and Thessaly. Unwearied still, three tribes, the Trocmi, the Tolistobogii, and the Tectosages pressed on and sought fresh homes beyond the Hellespont. The adventurers were not, this time, plunging into the unknown or embarking on an enterprise of incalculable issue. For Nicomedes, king of Bithynia in Asia Minor, desired their aid in his struggle against his brother Zipoetes, nor did he appeal to them in vain. To the number of 20,000—half of whom were fighting men, the rest women and children—they responded to the call, under the leadership of the chiefs Leonorios and Lutarios, and turned the scale in Nicomedes's favour. His success in enlisting their support, however, cost him dear.<sup>1</sup> His new allies, having secured a firm footing in the heart of Asia Minor, the fertile valleys of which held out a rich promise of booty, were not disposed lightly to relinquish their gains.

Like the Franks in the East during the Middle Ages, they consolidated themselves on either side of the River Halys into a firmly-knit soldier community, exacting tribute from all rulers west of Mount Taurus, some of whom were fain to purchase exemption from their degradation by employing the Gauls as mercenary soldiers. The newly-constituted robber-state bore the name of

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxviii, 16.



Galatia.<sup>1</sup> Cut off from the main masses of Celts in Central and Western Europe, they were obliged to shift for themselves; but, though isolated, their self-confidence did not desert them. Alternately the scourge and the upholders of the Asiatic princes, as passion or interest dictated, they ruled unchecked. Often their neighbours, groaning under the yoke, tried conclusions with them and were worsted in the encounter. At last vengeance overtook the Celtic invaders. Attalus I of Pergamos (241—197 B.C.) inflicted on them a crushing defeat<sup>2</sup> and confined them to a district 200 miles long by 100 wide. There they remained distinguished by language and manners from the encompassing populations, and, as in Gaul, so in Asia, they retained their own internal organization even under the Roman Empire. For two centuries the haughty conquerors formed a Celtic island, a ruling caste, like the Normans among the Saxons of England, a military autocracy who lived for war. Agriculture, commerce, and the peaceful crafts they delegated to their Phrygian subjects, who in course of time were rewarded by inclusion under the term Galatians. Fretting at the life of towns and cities, the Celtic chieftains fixed their habitations in hillforts, where they kept up a barbaric pomp, surrounded by retainers who shared with them the vast wealth that they won by the sword.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Roman "Gallogræcia", 'Ελληνογαλάται (Diodorus v, 32, 5) in contradistinction to the Galli of the West.

<sup>2</sup> Commemorated in the Sculptures of Pergamos.

<sup>3</sup> A writer of the second century A.D. casts light on their military methods:—

"These people were good fighters, and on this occasion in great force; they were drawn up in a serried phalanx, the first rank, which consisted of steel-clad warriors, being supported by men of the ordinary heavy-armed type, to the depth of four and twenty; twenty thousand cavalry held the flanks; and there were eighty scythed and twice that number of ordinary war-chariots ready to burst forth from the centre". Lucian, *Zeuxis and Antiochus*, (fin.)

The later history of the Gauls belongs to that of the Roman Empire. Mithridates the Great (120—63 B.C.) a potentate in Asia Minor, doubting their loyalty, ordered a massacre of all their chiefs,—a savage and fatal expedient which threw the Celtic race into the arms of Rome, and from this time forward Galatia becomes a client state of that power.

Even so the Celtic community were allowed to retain their native language and their national identity; each tribe was governed by its own hereditary prince, and the federal assembly, consisting of deputies from all three tribes, met at a place called Drunemeton,<sup>1</sup> to deliberate in the Sacred Grove and exercised supreme authority over Galatian affairs. Nor were their annals uneventful. Two of the Galatian kings live in Roman history; Deiotarus (“divine bull”), Tetrarch of Galatia, was one. For adhering to the Roman cause in their wars against the Parthians he was rewarded with the title of King and accessions to his dominion. The other was Amyntas, a brave and sagacious Gaul, whose career was in many points parallel to that of Herod of Palestine, and who was instrumental in establishing the Pax Romana (“Roman Peace”) in Southern Asia.<sup>2</sup>

There was one department of life which betrayed the effect of their new environment. The Galatians fell under the spell of the cult of Cybele, the Phrygian goddess, with its wild ceremonial, passionate orgies and hideous mutilations. The presumption is that such observances were congenial to the Gauls’ belief and practice; perhaps, too,

<sup>1</sup> *Dru*, from the same root as Druid and *nemeton* “consecrated place”. Cf. Cæsar, B.G. vi, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Von Soden, “Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt”, p. 80.

Manlius (Livy xxxviii, 17) affected to despise the Galatians. “Hi iam degeneres sunt, mixti, et Gallogræci vere, quod appellantur”.

the mystic element in the strange religion attracted them. At all events, they yielded to the fatal fascination ; thus, not for the first time

“Victi victoribus leges dederunt”, (“The conquered gave laws to their conquerors”).

or, in the words of the Roman poet,

“Græcia capta ferum captorem vicit et artes  
Intulit”.

(“Captive Greece overcame her captor and introduced her arts”).

Change but the name ; for Greece substitute Phrygia and the principle applies to the Gauls of Asia Minor.

But if the old warlike spirit of the Gauls languished and their star sank, there was one direction in which they never gave way ; they retained hold of their language. St. Jerome<sup>1</sup> vouches from personal experience for the fact that six centuries after their migration into Asia Minor these settlers on the Sangarius and Halys spoke a language which, though slightly corrupted, was essentially identical with that spoken on the Moselle and the Rhine.

The unrelaxing tenacity of the Celtic race is evinced by the fact that after the lapse of several hundred years a deep gulf still separated these Occidental Celts from the Asiatics that surrounded them. The term Galatians, as we have seen, gradually came to embrace a heterogeneous population ; still, the clear-cut traditional traits of the Celt lived on, and amid all the foreign elements and influences brought to bear on them, remained unchanged, or but slightly modified. If we may judge by the internal evidence of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, that people retained the impressionableness, brightness, vivacity, quickness of apprehension, inquisitive temper, thirst for

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. ad Galatas*, Book ii, preface. Cf. his commentary, vii p. 430. He had lived in Gaul and Galatia ; *Epist.*, III, i, pp. 10, 12 ; V, i, p. 15 ; *Adv. Jovin* ii, 7, ii, p. 335.

knowledge and fickleness of mind which marked their ancestors who roamed over Europe or dwelt in the gloomy forests of Germany and Gaul.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *The Celts in Spain and Britain.*

Hitherto we have dealt with the expansion of the Celtic race in an Easterly or Southerly direction. But equally strong was the call of the West, in obedience to a mysterious instinct, vast in its antiquity and visible in its continuity, which has guided the course of Empire.

The bulk of the race in Gaul were gradually settling down to agricultural pursuits. Their development in that country was probably typical of the changes that took place in other Celtic communities under Roman rule; they turned their swords into ploughshares.<sup>1</sup> "The Belgæ", says Cæsar,<sup>2</sup> "having waged war, began to cultivate the lands". Divinities of agriculture rose in public estimation and the prestige of war gods and goddesses proportionately declined. According to a phenomenon familiar to students of Comparative Religion, the conquered and their conquerors agreed in identifying native and immigrant deities.

The Celts bequeathed yet another legacy to the conquerors; they imprinted on them their facial type and character, just as at a later day and on a smaller scale the Welsh in Strathclyde (Cumberland and South-West Scotland) or Wessex, on surrendering their language and merging themselves in the population that overlaid them, imparted a colouring to its physiognomy, literature and habits of thought. But if the Gauls of middle Europe were content to settle down in their tranquil avocations,

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *De Bello Gallico*, v, 12. Cf. vi, 15.

such a life failed to commend itself to fiercer and more enterprising souls.

The Spirit of adventure still beckoned on. Accordingly, turning their backs on their countrymen in Gaul, who had stooped to husbandry and were acquiring the arts of life, a wave of Celtic warriors before the fifth century B.C. set their faces westward and sought fresh fields in the region of the setting sun. They undoubtedly entered the Spanish peninsula from France, where Celts are still firmly entrenched among the mountains of Auvergne. They were soon to discover that they were not destined to enter into undisputed possession of the land beyond the Pyrenees. A pre-Aryan race, the Iberians, and an Aryan stratum, the Ligurians,<sup>1</sup> were already there. Phœnician settlers, who had explored the country in search of ore, had seized coigns of vantage for the pursuit of commerce, for example, at Cadiz, Calpe (Gibraltar) and Malaga.

The stages by which the Celts advanced are merged in obscurity, but that the races that had forestalled them on Spanish soil, fought every inch of the ground, appears from local nomenclature, which presents a striking contrast to the place-names in Gaul. There the occupations of the Celts are reflected in the names of their settlements; these end in *-ialos* ("uncovered space"), which in Modern French assumes the form *-euil* (as in Mareuil) and *-magos* ("plain", "field");<sup>2</sup> this appears in Arganto-magus now Argenton-sur-Creuse (Department of the Indre); Caranto-magus, now Charenton-sur-Cher (Cher); Roto-magus, now Rouen (Seine Inférieure); Linto-magus now Brimeux (Pas de Calais). The prevalence of *-ialos* and *-magos* in Gaul points to the peaceful possession of the country.

<sup>1</sup> Barros Sivelo believed that even the Iberians were not the earliest inhabitants of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Akin to the Irish *magh*, Welsh *maes* and Breton *maez*.

Not so in Spain. In this peninsula, as at the outset the Celts hewed their way with sword and battleaxe, so they must maintain hold on the country by sheer force, and military colonies became necessary to keep the conquered races in subjection. It is significant that in what is now Spanish and Portugese territory, the termination *-magos* is exchanged for others, like *-briga*, which denote a fortified position. Further, it is a striking fact that the ending *-briga* is almost entirely confined to the two countries where the Celts were obliged to forge their way in the face of stubborn opposition, namely, in Rhenish Prussia and in Spain. The following occur in Germany, Eburo-briga now Avrolles (Yonne); Baudo-briga now Bupprich (near Coblentz), but in the Spanish peninsula there are as many as eighty.

The evidence of place-names, if limited to isolated examples, may not carry conviction, but it is difficult to shut our eyes to the cumulative effect of such concordant testimony.

The Celts had now reached their utmost bounds and found a congenial home among the hills of the Asturias and Galicia, and in what is now Portugal. Further they could not penetrate, unless, indeed, they essayed the Atlantic in their frail river-craft and forestalled Columbus in the discovery of a continent beyond the ocean.

The influence of the Celts on Spanish character would be difficult to determine. Along the northern heights Celts and Iberians coalesced at a very early period, forming the vigorous and obstinate Celtiberian race. In Galicia the Celts kept distinct from the Iberians; when the Romans, under Decimus Brutus, conquered that province in 136 B.C., they were still Celts pure and simple; they revealed an aptitude for manual labour, and to this day



the Galegos, like the Celtic Auvergnats in France, are known throughout Spain as labourers and servants.

The Celts may not have made positive contributions to the formation of Spanish character, but they doubtless heightened its tenacity. On Portugal, which in soil and climate, race and language, bears a closer affinity to Galicia, they left a deeper impress. At any rate Celtic monuments—Druidical stones, cairns, “rocking boulders”, and other megalithic remains—abound, to attest the presence of Celtic cults in the wild mountainous regions of the North West. That Celtic characteristics lived on is evidenced by the circumstance that Spain’s proudest families sprung from Galician soil; they won their title to nobility for valour in the field, in stemming the advance of the Moors or hurling them out of the peninsula at their final overthrow.

In tracing the progress of the Celts towards the setting sun, we have been anticipating and have passed over two other incursions, namely those into Britain and Ireland, which preceded the irruptions into Gaul and Italy. These have been omitted, partly because they are better known than the Celtic expeditions into Germany, Italy, Asia Minor, and Spain, partly because Britain, Scotland and Ireland will soon monopolize our attention.

Of the Celtic occupation of the British Isles it is unnecessary to speak at length. It will suffice to mention that two waves of Celtic invaders crossed over into the two islands; that when the Celts were settled in North Germany (as we now call it) they turned wistful looks towards the two islands in the northern Ocean; that about 800 B.C., or at any rate by the 9th century, the Goidels probably reached Britain. Like the Phoenicians, and also the Romans of a later day, the Celts coveted the tin ore, which, mixed with copper, was necessary to give their metal the

required strength for the manufacture of bronze weapons. They arrived, perhaps, to find that in some parts the Phoenicians were already on the scene and were exploiting the mines; for it appears that Great Britain was the source from which was derived a great part of the tin used on the seaboard of the Mediterranean.

The second invasion of Britain falls within a much later period, probably as late as the second century before the Christian era. The immigrants hailed, this time, from Gaul, or, in other words, belonged to the Belgian Branch. Ptolemy, writing in the second century A.D., refers to a Gaulish people established in Scotland, north of the Vallum Antonini, the Ἐπίδιοι, Epidii, which seems to mean "cavaliers" (knights) and to be derived from the Gaulish *epos* "horse" (Latin *ecus* and Old Irish *ech*). These immigrants appear to have occupied the peninsula of Cantyre in Argyleshire. The rest who took part in the invasion occupied Britain proper, and the South West, probably also the North West, of Ireland. The linguistic results of this invasion are well known. The Gaulish or Belgian dialect supplanted the Goidelic in Britain; of the Goidel groups some crossed the Irish Channel and joined the Goidels settled long previously on the Emerald Isle; others remained in Britain and adopted the dialect of their conquerors, the Brythonic tribes.

From the above outline of Celtic expansion it will be seen that the Celtic domain embraced a vast range, in fact, the middle and the three peninsulas of Europe, though we may not assume that this implies complete possession. Roughly speaking, it occupied a square, from the Northern border of Scotland and the Northern



frontiers of Germany to the South coast of Portugal. In the East the Celtic dominion was bounded by the Black Sea, in the West by the Atlantic.

The third century A.D. saw the sun of the Celts pass its meridian, and the glory of the Celtic arms depart. The causes of the decline are not obscure. For one thing, the machinery of government was dislocated. Younger assailants were appearing on the horizon, destined eventually to subjugate or oust the Celt. In the North the Germans thrust them forward. In North Italy and afterwards in Gaul the Romans brought them under their sway. In Asia Minor likewise they were subdued by the all-conquering Roman. In the extreme West, the Gauls were confronted by a combination of enemies, by the Carthaginians, who had supplanted Tyre as the Phœnician metropolis in the leadership of the Phœnician race, and by the Roman power which completed their discomfiture. There may have been more deep-seated causes to account for their downfall. It has been often assumed on slender evidence that the Celts at that time lived too much in a mystical dream-world; certainly their looser social divisions rendered them a prey to a neighbour possessed of a higher organisation, better arms, political unity, and centralised forces. This may have been a contributory cause during their struggle against Rome in the zenith of its power. A further circumstance may have co-operated to their decline; they surrendered the more willingly because of their close connection with their conquerors in blood, language and customs. Whatever the reasons may have been, it is only in outlying regions, protected by natural bulwarks, only in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and

Brittany, that the Celts have been able to preserve their national individuality and intellectual independence up to the present day.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Promotion of Learning.*

The Continental Celts, as we have seen, had been submerged amid the throng of invaders, yielding submission to the Roman sway, then losing their nationality and their language. But in their fall they conferred a bequest on the Roman conqueror and laid Roman culture under a deep obligation.

This brings me to a third movement in which the Celts bore a prominent part, namely the promotion and preservation of learning.

A passion for knowledge appears at that early period to have marked the Celts, especially those in Britain.<sup>1</sup> In the populace this trait revealed itself by a thirst for news. Caesar<sup>2</sup> relates how the Gauls would surround a merchant or traveller, detaining him even against his will and eagerly pressing him for the latest intelligence. But in Gauls of higher mental calibre or equipment the inspiration assumed a nobler form. A late Greek rhetorician commends the Galatians of Asia Minor for their acuteness and quickness of apprehension, in which they surpassed the genuine Greeks. As a proof of their intellectual ardour, he mentions that the moment they catch sight of a philosopher they cling to the skirts of his cloak as the steel adheres to the magnet.<sup>3</sup>

It is a striking circumstance that some of the famous authors who adorned the annals of Roman literature hailed

<sup>1</sup> "To give preference to the native talents of the Briton as against the plodding Gaul." Tacitus, *Agricola* c. 21.

<sup>2</sup> B.G., IV, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Themistius, *Or.* XXIII, p. 299 A.

from Celtic districts. Virgil was a native of Andes, a small village near Mantua<sup>1</sup> in Cisalpine<sup>2</sup> Gaul. Catullus was born at Verona or near there; his name is derived from *catu* "battle", akin to the old Irish *cath*, old Welsh *cat*, modern Welsh *cad* and *cadarn*, "strong". Statius, Ausonius, and other poets of eminence at a later age, hailed from Gaul.

Nor were the Celtic historians and antiquaries behind-hand. Varro was of Celtic descent. Trogus, the historian, belonged to the tribe of the Vocontii, as he himself avows. A still more famous name was Livius (Livy). He was a native of Patavium, and even his matchless style occasionally betrayed his provincial origin. Asinius Pollio, a contemporary critic, twitted him with his *patauinitas*. Perhaps Livy spoke with a Scotch, Irish, or Welsh accent. At any rate the name Livius<sup>3</sup> is probably to be equated with the Welsh "lliw", colour. Thus, e.g., the word Vindo-livo-s (from *livos*) corresponds to the Welsh Gwyn-lliw. Verona produced a galaxy of luminaries; Cornelius Nepos, as well as Catullus, was one of her famous Celtic sons. Pliny was another name honoured in the literary world of Rome and the republic of letters throughout the Empire. Pliny the Elder, as he is now called, or Caius Plinius Secundus (to adopt the full Latin name) the natural historian, hailed from Verona or Novum Comum (the modern Como), and, either way, was of Celtic descent. Pliny the younger, his nephew, author of the famous collection of epistles, was born at Como. Plinius is identical with Mag-plinus and

<sup>1</sup> "Mantua dives avis, sed non genus omnibus unum; gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni." Virgil, *Aen.* IX, 201. The Mantuan territory contained three races, each a master of four cities. Cf Livy V. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Gaul on the Italian side of the Alps.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> cf *liveo*, *livor*, *lividus*.

the Breton Plinis. This list of poets and historians forms in itself a goodly array and reveals a capacity for literature, history and science inherent in the Celtic strain; it might be further extended.

The Celtic youth were the object of the Druids' solicitude. Men and lads, mostly drawn from the ranks of the Gaulish nobility, flocked to them to learn wisdom, and it argues well for the attractiveness of the teaching and the devotion of the disciples that, in spite of the exacting nature of the studies, many, caught by the spell, remained at their teachers' feet as long as twenty years (so runs the tradition), if not to the end of their days. The number of students is indirectly attested by an incident that occurred in the course of a revolt of the Gauls during the reign of Tiberius. Upon that occasion the insurgents concentrated their efforts on securing Augustodunum (now Autun), in order to seize as hostages the persons of noble youths who were studying there, and thus to conciliate or intimidate their kinsfolk, who were the most distinguished families of the land. In short, Gaul proper was the Promised Land of teaching and learning, and there is a strong presumption in favour of connecting its pre-eminence with the powerful influence of the Druidical national priest-hood, who endeavoured to control all spheres of thought and action.

The subjects taught must have been congenial, at least if the fondness for them in the twentieth century of the Christian era be any criterion of the tastes of that early generation. The ancient Celts "loved beautiful speeches". It is not surprising therefore that Grammar and Rhetoric formed the staple of the instruction imparted in the Druidical schools. Their symbol of the power of speech takes the form of a bald-headed, wrinkled, sun-burnt old man, equipped with club and bow. From his perforated

tongue hang fine chains which are linked to the ears of a person following behind. The divinity here represented is Ogmius, the god of eloquence, and the symbolism portrays the art of persuasion—the flying arrows indicating dialectical dexterity and the club the crushing arguments of the old man mighty in speech, to whom the multitude (represented by the captive behind) are enchained.<sup>1</sup>

It is worthy of note that the first founder of a Latin school for rhetoricians was a native of Cisalpine Gaul and bore a Celtic name; his name was Plotius Gallus. He established a school for Latin and Rhetoric at Rome about 88 B.C., and came to be styled the Father of Roman rhetoric. Forensic orators from Trans-Alpine Gaul likewise shed lustre on their race. Such were Votienus Montanus (27 A.D.) who hailed from Narbo in the South and earned the title of the Ovid of the rhetorical Schools. Such was Gnaeus Domitius Afer, consul in 39 A.D., a native of Nemausus in the same province. Quintilian, the trainer of budding orators for the Forum (or, as we should say, the Bar) makes favourable mention of several speakers from Gaul, and it is significant that Tacitus, in his fine Dialogue on oratory,<sup>2</sup> puts forward the Gaulish advocate, Marcus Aper, to champion the eloquence of his own day against the worshippers of those paragons of the older school, Cicero and Caesar.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the idea compare Lucian, *Zeus Tragoedus*. "Don't you see how many are listening, and how they have already been persuaded against us and he is leading them after him tethered by the ears?" Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 21. "ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lucian, *Dis kategor*, § 27.; *Apologia*, § 15.

<sup>3</sup> These historical instances lend point to Juvenal's assertion (*Satire*, XV, 3):—"Gallia caudicicos duxit facunda Britannos; de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle." ("Eloquent Gaul has trained the pleaders of Britain, and distant Thule [probably the Orkneys and Shetlands] talks of hiring a rhetorician").

Under the same category falls Ausonius, the Roman poet of the fourth century. A native of Bordeaux and a Celt by descent, he was trained as a rhetorician, and rhetoric left an impress deep and durable on his literary lucubrations. The artificial atmosphere of the age, his social environment, and the literary methods of his time, were not favourable to intellectual freshness and a broad human outlook; still Ausonius reveals touches of the genius that distinguished the Celtic race. He shows a distinct appreciation for the beauties of nature without reference to the comfort and gratification which they may afford to mankind—a quality which has been described as a characteristically Celtic gift.

The love of poetry also seems to have marked the Celt at that early period, and the disciples of the Druids were put to learn a mass of verses. To keep their doctrines secret, and at the same time to strengthen their pupils' memory, the Druids, like the Pythagorean philosophers in the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, forbade them to commit their tenets to writing, but allowed artificial aids to memory by couching their wisdom in the form of Triads. A fondness for music was another feature of the Celtic mind, and musical accomplishments were carefully imparted in the Druidical seminaries.

The Druids' attention was not confined to an inner circle of disciples; at least those in Britain kept an outer school for the instruction of those who did not contemplate joining the fraternity; in this respect they resembled the mediæval monkish schools with their separate provision for those who were destined for the Church, and those whose vocation lay in the "World" without.

The Druids, then, fulfilled an important function in the educational evolution of Gaul. With the Roman conquest, some Druidical institutions received their death-



blow. The victors put down with a heavy hand the custom of human sacrifice, a variety of worship not unknown to their own ancestors before they had far advanced in the path of civilization, and they viewed askance the Druidical usages as incompatible with the spread of Romano-Hellenic culture, which gradually captured the Celtic imagination. But the time for a complete abolition of the system only arrived in the first century of the Christian era. It was in the reign of Tiberius and his successors, when the national trainers of youth were brought face to face with the Romano-Greek culture that the Druids were finally suppressed. Their schools, which probably formed a leaven of Gallic nationality, were the first to feel the effect of the edict. It is not without significance that the most important of these centres lay in the capital of the Aedui, the chief among the Gallic cantons. Afterwards, the first place among the Universities of Gaul was taken by Burdigala;<sup>1</sup> indeed, in point of culture, Aquitania as a whole far outstripped the Middle and Northern parts of Gaul. The Druids' occupation was gone. But while many of them sank to the level of mere wizards, soothsayers and magic-mongers (and the Druidesses to that of sorceresses<sup>2</sup>), the prominent Druidical families accommodated themselves to changed conditions, and placed their services at the disposal of the Roman Minister of Education.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

##### *British Schools a refuge for learning.*

The enthusiasm in the cause of knowledge that characterised the Celt was not stifled by the suppression of

<sup>1</sup> Bordeaux.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* xiv, 30; *Life of Alexander Severus*, 60; Aurelius, xlv; Nennius, xl.



the Druids nor by the ensuing world-wide calamities. While Goths, Vandals and Huns, swept down in torrents from the North, Britain, Caledonia and Ireland fulfilled a providential mission in the preservation of learning. Their geographical situation co-operated to this end. Lying in a comparatively quiet back-water, immune from peril and sheltered from the restless ebb and flow of the "Wanderlust" on the Continent, Britain and Ireland were the two lights of Christendom which in a dark and dreary period kept the torch of enlightenment aflame. There Learning trimmed her lamp; there Contemplation preened her wings; there the traditions of Art were preserved from age to age.

Intellectual zeal had carried many of the sons of Britain, Scotland and Ireland across the English Channel. It is stated on the authority of St. Patrick that, in the obscure interval between his landing from the ship with a cargo of wolfhounds (in which he escaped from slavery in Ireland to the West of France) and his disappearance from view, the Saint in the course of his wanderings visited Lerins, now Les Marguerites, in the South of Gaul. There he found Irish Celts sitting at the feet of the teachers who presided over that famous foundation. When he betook himself to Autissiodurum (Auxerre) to prosecute his studies at this other celebrated nursery of learning and hive of missionary activity, there also he found Celts gratifying their thirst for knowledge and preparing for the work of evangelising their native Britain and Ireland; for literature and knowledge were at that distant day pursued not only for their own sake but also as a means of converting the heathen.

It was not long, however, before Britain, Ireland, Caledonia, and, in the course of time, Brittany, acquired schools of their own which survived, rivalled and eclipsed

the above-mentioned seminaries on the Continent. Organised chiefly for the study of Holy Scripture and the Fathers of the Church—namely, the writers of the Post-Apostolic age—but also for the acquisition of secular accomplishments, they were enabled, according to the needs of the hour, to requite each other's charitable toil. The Welsh schools of Glamorganshire sheltered learning in turbulent times and furnished Brittany with teachers. Breton students came to sit at the feet of St. Cadog the Wise. At Bangor in North Wales, Deiniol and his successors attracted pupils from Wales and England. Ireland became at an early period an object of their solicitude and was soon in a position to make return for their beneficence, for no schools became more famous, nowhere was learning more assiduously and successfully cultivated than in the sister island. Moville and Clonard (which perhaps occupied former Druidic sites) Clonmacnois, Bangor (County Down) were centres of intellectual illumination, from which knowledge and culture radiated. It was from Clonard that St. Columba started on his memorable mission to Pictland, to settle finally on the Island of Iona. Iona in its turn, not content with acting as an instrument for the conversion of Caledonia, extended its operations to the North of Britain, where daughter houses arose, garrisons of pious and learned men amid the prevailing moral and spiritual darkness.

Thus the early British and Irish schools vied with each other in the interchange of kind offices and were rivals only in charitable endeavour.

To illustrate the standard of culture in the Celtic schools and their boundless enthusiasm for advancing the frontiers of human knowledge one example only need be cited. When Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798, French savants followed in the wake of his army and received no

little stimulus from the commander. Among them was a famous engineer, named Letronne, the author of a valuable work on Greek and Latin inscriptions in Egypt, who communicated a powerful impetus to Egyptology. In the course of his researches at the Royal (now the National) Library of Paris, Letronne lighted upon two Irish manuscripts, copies of a work evidently composed about the year 825 A.D. in one of the celebrated cloister schools of Ireland. He ascribed them to the *scriptorium* or writing-school of Clonard or Armagh. There are reasons, however, for tracing them to Clonmacnois, the famous religious house on the Shannon, for the author of the original, Dicuil by name, speaks of himself as a disciple of Suibhneus or Sweeney,<sup>1</sup> a teacher who shed lustre on that institution.

One of these manuscripts, entitled *Liber de mensura orbis terrae*, furnished an interesting and accurate description of the Faroe Islands, where, as is known from other sources, Irish anchorites had settled as early as the ninth century. Before the Danes came there, the Irish hermits had sought refuge from the world in its caves, and the Norsemen, on their arrival in 874, found missals, bells and croziers imported from Ireland. But Dicuil's investigations had embraced a wider range. To his delight, Letronne discovered that the volume contained singularly accurate descriptions of Egypt, and correct measurements of the Pyramids. The explanation is not obscure. Dicuil had based his work on the treatises of the ancient Latin and Greek geographers. He had also laid under contribution the travels of Fidelis. The latter had gone with a band of his fellow-countrymen on pilgrimage to the hermits of the Thebaid, whose fame had

<sup>1</sup> Many scholars of the name were associated with Clonmacnois and the name "Sweeney" is still common in the neighbourhood.

possessed an irresistible attraction for Celtic Churchmen. Thence the party had proceeded to the Holy Land. Among other things Dicuil describes the freshwater canal which, constructed, in the first instance, by a Pharaoh in 500 B.C., to connect the Nile with Suez, was repaired by the Roman Emperor Hadrian.<sup>1</sup> This geographical treatise affords a proof of the inquisitive temper of Irish scholars, and shows that their attainments were of no mean order; nor is there any reason to suppose that the intellectual enthusiasm of the British and Scottish Schools was much less marked.

There came a time when British and Irish scholars were able to recompense the colleges and cloisters of the Continent. Goth, Lombard, Vandal and Hun poured down from the "Beehive of the North," so called because of the successive swarms of barbarians which issued from that quarter and spread devastation, leaving behind them a scorched and blackened path of misery and ruin. The blood-stained Fathers, St. Gregory in particular, waxed eloquent over these tornadoes of death and desolation which, aggravated by pestilence and earthquake, plunged the world in chaos and calamity. No sooner had one wave swept over Europe than another visitation succeeded; like a wave of locusts they found Europe a Paradise and left it a desert; and wildly exulting in the work of destruction they stamped out, so far as in them lay, every element of revival. While Europe was passing through this Medea's cauldron of desolating catastrophes, the very mention of education was a mockery; the very aim and effort to exist was occupation enough for mind and body. The fabric of the old world was battered down. Stunned by this series of disasters, men asked "What is to be the end? What could save art, science, philosophy? Whither

<sup>1</sup> The canal continued to be used until the sixth century.

were they to turn, when chased away by the barbarian invader ? ”

The anxious question was answered by Britain and Ireland ; they came to the rescue of a crumbling civilization, and offered an asylum to learning and science. Ireland the barbarians had never reached, and though a solitary wave of the invasion had passed over Britain (the right wing of the barbaric host which was over-running Europe), it was not followed by another. Britain, at least in its Southern half, had formed part of the Roman Empire, had partaken both of its civilization and its Christianity, and was comparatively secure. The opportunity for repaying their debt had come, and well did the Sister Isles fulfil the obligation. Monks in cloister cells saved the remnants of learning, and the elements of art and culture which haughty Alaric or fierce Attila had spared or disdained, Irish and British scholars collected, housed and made to live again. Strangers took refuge there, not only from the neighbouring shores, but also from remote nations of the Continent, and received gratuitous entertainment, free instruction, and even books for the prosecution of their studies.

But the future held evil days for Britain and Ireland. A new enemy appeared off their own coasts, sweeping the seas, the dark pirates of the North, comprehensively called Danes, and, in Welsh, the Black men. To them the sea, instead of being a barrier, was the very element and condition of their victories. To them nothing was sacred, and wherever they went they always left a trail of blood and charred ruins behind. So passed away from Britain and Ireland in their turn the ancient Voices of science and literature, but they were silenced there only to revive elsewhere, and in due time to be restored to the two islands which had fostered them in a dark hour.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Celts at Charlemagne's Court.*

The catastrophe was not destined to set a period to the services of Britain and Ireland in the march of mind, and their scholars were not doomed to quit the earth before they had written their immortal names in one and the self-same page of history. These two conservators of knowledge, sacred and profane, transmitted their literary treasures and traditions, their special schools, religious and secular, to a glorious luminary who was appearing in the horizon, none other than Charlemagne, whose victories kindled a romantic enthusiasm in men's minds and who (as we cannot but think) was raised up to be the founder of modern civilization. It is at least a striking coincidence that the appearance of Ragnor Lodbrog off the shores of Britain and Ireland synchronised with the rise of Charlemagne. The Emperor was now on the full tide of his brilliant victories and the arrival of the Irish teachers was opportune. Just at that epoch he was contemplating schemes for the regeneration of society and the betterment of the condition of his subjects. A story is extant which shows how the new arrivals were brought to his notice. Two strolling students from Ireland, Clemens and Debinus, had accompanied British traders to the coast of France. There observing the eagerness with which the vendors of perishable merchandise were surrounded by the inhabitants, the two travellers began to cry out "Who wants wisdom? Here is wisdom for sale. This is the store for wisdom!" The Emperor sent for them to his Court.<sup>1</sup>

The constellation of Celtic genius, which gathered

<sup>1</sup> Doubt has been thrown on the story, but it is accepted by Muratori, Haddan, Lanigan and others.



around Charlemagne, included some of the most notable names of that fertile epoch. Dungal, a contemporary of Dicuil at the Carolingian Court, was a leader of thought. When the heretical Claudius of Turin exulted over the ignorance of the desolated churches on the Continent and dubbed the synod of bishops a "congregation of asses", it was no other than Dungal, now a monk at St. Denis, that accepted the challenge and overthrew the presumptuous railer. His dialectical skill and erudition excited the hostility of Charlemagne's other educational advisers. Theodulf called him "a wild man of the woods, a plaguy litigious fellow, who thinks he knows everything and especially the things of which he knows nothing". The Anglo-Saxon Alcuin accused him of Alexandrian Gnosticism. The truth, however, appears to be that he inherited the mystic teaching of his native country. The Irish Clement succeeded Alcuin, the first Rector of the Studium of Paris. John, a fellow-countryman of Clement, was commissioned to found the schools of Pavia. Such are some of the names of the intellectual circle of the Carolingian Court, the "greges philosophorum",<sup>1</sup> as they were styled, who hailed from Ireland. The name "Irishman" had become synonymous with "philosopher".

These emissaries, half theologians, half tramps, were the forerunners of the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. Of these wandering philosophers, who bore the palm for subtle speculation in the Universities of Europe, some earned an unenviable notoriety. At the time racial feeling ran high and this accounts for some of the slanders with which they were assailed. But this will not fully explain the deep suspicion with which their opinions were viewed. Pelagius of heretical memory and his turbulent career had

<sup>1</sup> "Herds of philosophers."



excited a prejudice against Celtic thinkers.<sup>1</sup> Celestius, his strenuous lieutenant, outdid his master in the work of propaganda. St. Jerome, with characteristic vehemence, pours upon him a Niagara of scorn and vituperation, calling him, among other things, a “cur brought up on Scotch porridge”. St. Virgil, Bishop of Salzburg, also an Irishman, aired ideas on geography which created alarm among his contemporaries. Pelagius, Celestius, and Virgil were the precursors of the subtle, audacious, speculative thinkers, of the Titans in scholastic theology in a later era, a Scotus Erigena, a Duns Scotus and an Abelard. But, whatever their errors, it must be admitted that their very aberrations afford a proof at least of mental culture, for heresies do not usually arise among the ignorant, and they were often united with austerity of morals.

The death of Charlemagne, in 814, checked educational reform and retarded the intellectual advance of the age ; thus matters remained at a standstill until the year 825. Lothair, true to his illustrious ancestor's ideal, instituted further reform ; he re-established a central seat of learning at Pavia. His choice of an instrument to further his designs fell on John, another Irishman. And who better fitted to further Lothair's projects at a later day than Edward Evans, who figures as the president of that seat of learning ?

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<sup>1</sup> Among the Welsh he has been traditionally called Morgan and his theories *Morganiaeth*. There are, however, weighty reasons for relinquishing our claim to him ; he is now known to have been an Irishman by descent.

# Ritual and Romance : An Appreciation.<sup>1</sup>

By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, LL.D., F.S.A.

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THE problems offered by the Grail romances are numerous and important, and many have been the efforts to solve them. So difficult has it been to understand the romances and to extricate a reasonable meaning from them that many students have abandoned the task, and competent outsiders who perchance might have been attracted by the charm of the tales have instead been repelled, and have turned their attention to other literary questions which promised easier and more certain results. The meaning of the Grail and the Spear is the central problem, but it is by no means the only one. The procession with its weeping women, the Fisher-King and his Wound, the Waste Land, the Task of the Hero and even his identity were subsidiary enquiries, the true answers to which would furnish data for the solution of the main problem, without which indeed it could not be satisfactorily solved. It was generally recognised that the country and circumstances of origin of the romances, if once they could be determined, would probably furnish a clue to the mystery. The body of romances seem to have sprung upon the world in full vigour of life and development in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries amid the blaze of chivalry, and to have attached themselves to the Arthurian cycle which was the literary and romantic form wherein the spirit of chivalry

<sup>1</sup> *From Ritual to Romance*, by Jessie L. Weston. Cambridge University Press, 1920.

expressed itself. Accordingly their students fell into two schools, one deriving the origin and meaning of the tales from Wales, the home of Arthurian tradition, and from Welsh folklore, by the light of which it was endeavoured to explain the incidents and the various "properties"; and the other referring the origin of the tales to the continent of Europe and interpreting their meaning by means of ecclesiastical tradition. For the adherents of the latter school the Grail was a purely Christian symbol, and the romance concerning it was some sort of Christian allegory adapted from Christian legends made more or less consciously for edification. Those on the other hand who argued for a Welsh origin rejected the Christian inspiration, which they declared had only taken possession of it subsequently, and had distorted the story and permanently obscured its meaning. Each school had its arguments, triumphantly produced to the discomfiture of its antagonist; and, as is generally the case in a theological dispute, each obtained its triumph by emphasising its own good points and ignoring those (often equally good) made by the other side.

Thus the position assumed a species of stalemate: each party had scored some distinct successes, but neither of them could win a decisive victory. The difficulties of the Welsh party were many: though it could produce certain analogies to the Grail in Celtic legend, such as the cauldron of the Dagda, with such magical objects of similar properties as are to be found in Welsh story, these were analogies only; identity could not be established, and there was not in Celtic folklore or literature any parallel narrative, or any series of incidents, by which the Grail narratives as a whole could be explained. What was almost equally important, the romances first appeared in French, and though Welsh romances were found, it

seemed impossible to prove from external evidence a Welsh original. No less serious difficulties, however, beset the attempt to prove an ecclesiastical origin for the romances. There seems to be no ecclesiastical tradition about the cup "from which our Lord

Drank at the last sad supper with His own."

There may be a legend about Longinus and the spear, but certainly none connecting spear and cup as they are inseparably connected in the romances. The other vessels prominent in the romances are not of ecclesiastical provenience, and the mystery which covers them all does not seem to be anywhere solved in a Christian sense. That the story has received a Christian dress is certain: in the Middle Ages it could not be otherwise; but that is not the same thing as a Christian and ecclesiastical origin.

Meanwhile Miss Weston had been slowly and patiently working at the different forms of the story and had in a number of valuable works analysed with great care the different legends embodied in the Grail cycle and discussed the various problems involved, including the relation of the cycle to that of Arthur. Her patience and open mind were at length rewarded. She saw that there was a definite meaning in the story, but that it was not to be referred entirely either to folk-tradition originating prior to Christianity, or to ecclesiastical tradition. By some of the poets and romancers the meaning was either unknown or ignored. Others, such as Robert de Borron, had an inkling of it. In fact, Robert de Borron's object was to reconcile the Church's teaching with the secret of the Grail by means of a larger mysticism, and thereby to Christianize the story; though he was afterwards led, how we know not, to drop that intention. Coming into literature in the twelfth century and originally independent of the Arthurian cycle, it was inevitable that it should fall

into it. The first step was taken by Chrétien de Troyes by the adoption of the invincible Knight Gawain and Sir Perceval as the heroes of the romance. Thenceforward its incorporation was assured, and with its incorporation the entire change both of the Grail cycle and that of King Arthur and the Round Table.

In the course of her researches Miss Weston turned to an investigation of the ancient Mysteries, which are known to have had an important influence on the development of ritual in the early Church. A passage in the chapter on the relation of Gnosticism to the Mysteries in Anrich's book on the Mysteries caught her eye. It contained something more than a passing allusion to a writing of the Naasene sect, partly preserved in Hippolytus' *Refutation of All Heresies*, written soon after the beginning of the third century. She made further enquiries, and found it to be a document apparently aimed at synthesizing Christianity with the quasi-philosophical teaching of the Mysteries as developed in certain Eastern religions which had invaded the Roman Empire at a date probably prior to the rise of Christianity. It embodied the esoteric side of the widespread cult of Attis and other sacred personages traced by Sir James Frazer and Mannhardt to the seasonal rites of the death and renewal of vegetation—rites which had for their object the promotion and renewal of life in all its various forms, especially of human life. These rites were orgiastic in character, and were concerned with the life, death and resurrection, or re-birth, of the divine being in whose honour they were celebrated, and on whose continued existence and well-being the health and prosperity of all living creatures were held to depend. Records and traces of these rites are found from India to the West and North of Europe, and they have been made familiar to English-speaking readers in

Sir James Frazer's writings. In spite of Christianity they have lingered in Europe down to the present day, and in Africa they have but little diminished of their full force. In their ancient form it is explicitly believed that the fertilization of the earth and of all living things is dependent upon the continued life and health of the divinity who is celebrated. It has been shown that the king no less explicitly is held very often to be an incarnation of the divinity, and that he is then held responsible for the result, and slain or set aside in favour of a younger and stronger representative when he shows signs of age or feebleness. Recently this belief has been found to be still existing among the Shilluk on the White Nile and in South Nigeria. The king of the Shilluk is regarded with great reverence as an incarnation of their mythical semi-divine hero, Nyakang, through whose intercession with their supreme god Juok they are indebted for the rain required for their cattle and their crops. Consequently the King "must not be allowed to become ill or senile, lest with his diminishing vigour the cattle should sicken and fail to bear their increase, the crops should rot in the fields, and man, stricken with disease, should die in ever increasing numbers". To prevent this calamity, on the first indication of sickness or failing strength he is put to death; indeed, very often before that event he is attacked by an aspirant to the throne, like the priest of Nemi, and killed. The successful rival, or if he did not fall a victim to a rival, one of his sons succeeds. So the priest-king of Elele in the Degema district of Nigeria is elected for a term of seven years. "The whole prosperity of the town, especially the fruitfulness of farm, byre and marriage-bed was linked with his life. Should he fall sick it entailed famine and grave disaster upon the inhabitants, and there is reason to believe that in such a case facilities were



offered to a successor. Under no circumstances did the term of office last for more than seven years." Now, at the end of that period another of the same family is chosen in his stead, and the fallen holder of the dignity retires and is reported "to die for himself". "It was owned quite frankly that, before the Government came, i.e., not more than a dozen years ago [this was written in or about 1914], things were arranged differently, in that at any time during his seven years' term, the priest might be put to death by any man strong and resourceful enough to effect this."

It was in such cases as these that Miss Weston finally found a solution of the puzzling problem of the Fisher-King and therewith of the whole Grail story. It will be remembered that the Fisher-King, to whose castle the hero comes, is lying ill of a malady, or of old age, his land is a desert, and the hero has the power, by undertaking and accomplishing some task, or by merely asking the proper question concerning what he sees, of restoring him to health and his land to fertility. Recognising the general principle that a myth or a folktale is framed to explain a ritual, and not a ritual to commemorate a story or event, Miss Weston sought the origin of the tale in a pre-existing ritual half-understood. As a result of her search the theory emerges that the tale is the embodiment of the periodical rites of the worship of the reproductive powers of Nature, that the Fisher-King is a divine personage on whose health and strength the well-being of his land depends, and since he has fallen into sickness or old age his land has ceased from fertility and become waste, and that the spear and the Grail, two inseparable instruments, are the symbols of the organs of reproduction used in the ritual which is believed to restore the king to his pristine health and the land which depends upon it to its primitive fertility—in



short, that the story is the narrative form of a yearly ritual set in action to preserve and promote the prosperity of a country and the energies of its people.

It is probable that here we have the true explanation of the Mystery of the Grail. It fits the incidents of the story better than any explanation hitherto proposed. It accounts for the various objects which appear and for the incidents, all more or less common to folklore and pre-Christian. In the pre-Christian character of the story lies the mystery that has enshrouded it. The Church had set its foot upon the rites, and had trampled down both them and the ideas they represented, and had endeavoured to twist them if they persisted, or the story that perpetuated them, into something which could be, if not approved, at least tolerated. For this reason the true meaning had been suppressed and had fallen out of cognizance. Some indeed, the earliest tellers of the tale, must have understood it, must have been acquainted with the ritual and aware of its intention. But as the mysterious story grew in popularity, and was repeated, it was taken up by poets and romancers who were ignorant of its meaning. They blundered over it or wilfully blurred its outlines. It was a tempting thing to make one or other of the Knights of the Round Table, already popular, the hero or heroes of the Quest of the Grail ; but by yielding to the temptation the story of the Quest was hopelessly deflected from its real intention, emptied of its symbolism, and a new meaning was imposed and imperfectly substituted, while the Round Table was broken up and its knights led into a morass of adventure, foreign to the substance of their story.

But though I hold that Miss Weston's long and patient research, her learning and clear-sighted intuition have succeeded in solving the chief puzzle, I am by no means with her on all the side-issues. The Grail is pagan and

not Christian in its essence. It is probably the development of a folktale anterior to Christianity, and Celtic scholars who have insisted on the pagan objects and ceremonies delineated in the course of the tale are, to this extent at all events, right. To Welsh readers it is above all an interesting question how far it owes its existence to Celtic and specifically Welsh tradition. On that there may be a difference of opinion. The earliest form of the Grail story found in literature seems to have arisen in Brittany. It is only when Perceval is adopted into it that anything distinctively Welsh appears. Closely connected, in later pagan times at any rate, with the cult of Attis, to which I have already alluded, was that of the god Mithra. The worship of Mithra, originally Persian, made its way into the Roman Empire, where it penetrated to the utmost west, and was for long a serious rival to Christianity, until the policy of Constantine and his successors established Christianity and swept Mithraism into limbo. The chief means of diffusion of these oriental religions in the Empire were slaves, Syrian merchants and the army. The slaves and the army were largely recruited from Eastern sources. Slaves were to be found in most Roman households of wealth and importance, Syrian merchants swarmed everywhere, and the legions were moved about from place to place all over the Empire and settled down more or less permanently where their presence was most required—often on the borders to guard against the attacks of the Barbarians. There was thus a continual supply of missionaries in all parts of the Empire. The altars of oriental worships have been found everywhere—in Britain as well as elsewhere. If the story of the Grail arose out of these worships, there is no reason why it should have arisen in Britain rather than in Italy or Spain. And if it did it would probably have arisen among a Goidelic rather than

a Brythonic population. The first appearance of a story in literature is not the date or the place of its origin : it must have originated long before it was put into writing. If the Grail story grew up in Brittany, where we first find it, there is nothing to show among what population. It is true that Brittany had been peopled by Bretons for ages before Chrétien de Troyes and the other poets wrote the Grail ; but whence or how those poets derived it does not appear. The specifically Welsh incidents do not appear in the earliest recensions of the romances. The substance of the tale was doubtless popular in many regions, as the ritual upon which it was founded was widely practised. Even to-day the remains of that ritual are discoverable all over Europe. The only thing we can be sure of is that wherever or however the story may have come into being, it was, once it had come into being, disseminated into Wales and there taken into the heart of the people. But it found the same career more or less in France and Germany. What however gave it a more vital hold on the Welsh people was the union it effected with the tale of Arthur in the chivalric form that tale had assumed in the twelfth century under Norman influence. Though the union altogether distorted the tale, it gave it a vogue and an impulse which rendered it a contribution of no small magnitude to the literature of Wales, and through Welsh literature to that of the world.

This result would not have been possible but for a further change. Under the influence of the Church, all-powerful at that time of day, a Christian colour was attempted to be given to the incidents. The story got tacked on to the mythical founders of Welsh Christianity, despite its entire inconsistency with their legend. Its connection with them enabled the Welsh the more plausibly to appropriate it. It is true, the Christian colouring was more than a disguise : it wrapt the romance in an im-

penetrable mystery and ultimately made nonsense of its incidents as they were developed by the later poets and romancers. But its spread as literature could have taken place under no other conditions. Its disentanglement was left to a freer age and more abundant knowledge than fell to the lot of Robert de Borron or Sir Thomas Malory.

With the help of Mr. Edward Owen, Miss Weston has investigated the question who is the author to whom we owe the amalgamation of the Grail story with the King Arthur cycle. It is an interesting question, because this amalgamation gave the story its peculiarly Welsh character, it was enthusiastically accepted, and it ensured its popularization and perpetuation. True, the question is a side-issue. Yet as a side-issue it is not without its importance as bearing on the history of the romance. The conclusion to which Miss Weston comes is to identify Bledri ap Cadivor, a noble of Dyfed, who appears to have been under Norman influence and to have been in fact a Norman partizan, with Bleheris, who is mentioned by Wauchier as the author of the tale of Gawain, and Bledhericus referred to by Giraldus Cambrensis as *famosus ille fabulator*, to whom he assigns a career shortly before his own time (*i.e.*, probably in the eleventh century), and further with Blihis, who is cited as an authority in the *Elucidation*, as knowing the secret of the Grail and giving a solemn warning against its disclosure. If these identifications are well-founded it is highly probable that here we have the name of the real author to whom Wales and the world owe so much of pure and lasting pleasure. At present that is all we can say. Further investigations are required. They will be forthcoming, if they are not, as we believe, already in progress ; and when they are completed we may hope that we shall have something like complete proof.

There are many other points deserving of notice, but I will only refer to one other. After mentioning Blihis' warning against revealing the secret of the Grail the *Elucidation* goes on to tell "how aforetime there were maidens dwelling in the hills who brought forth to the passing traveller food and drink. But King Amangons outraged one of these maidens and took away from her her golden cup. His knights, when they saw their lord act thus, followed his evil example, forced the fairest of the maidens and robbed them of their cups of gold. As a result the springs dried up, the land became waste, and the court of the Rich Fisher, which had filled the land with plenty, could no longer be found". This seems to be an attempt to fit in a well-known folk-tale with the Rich Fisher (or Fisher-King) *motif*, in order to account for the disaster that fell on the land. Gervase of Tilbury in the early part of the thirteenth century relates that there was in a forest of Gloucestershire a hillock where one at a time thirsty knights and hunters were wont to get relief. A cupbearer would present the adventurer with a large drinking-horn adorned with gold and gems as, says the writer, was the custom among the most ancient English, and with a towel to wipe his mouth. But the cup or horn was on one occasion kept by an ill-conditioned knight, who paid the penalty of the robbery at the hands of the Earl of Gloucester, and the cup was given to King Henry I. His contemporary, William of Newbury, tells a similar tale, laying the scene in Yorkshire. And in Yorkshire it has been repeated down to the present day and localized at the barrow called Willey How. It is found elsewhere—in Scandinavia, Germany and in the Isle of Man—and horns or cups said to have been thus stolen are preserved in various places. The hills or barrows where it is localized seem to be usually burial-mounds, and the story to be a

reminiscence of the treasures that were buried with the dead. In any case it is hardly possible to build upon the tale any theory of the secret continuance in the hills of Wales of a cult similar to, or identical with, Mithra-worship. Nor is it necessary, for after all the story probably developed from the general European tradition, and thus owed little or nothing directly to the Mithra-cult.

But whatever reserves may be made on these and other side-issues, it is a great pleasure to me to be able heartily to congratulate Miss Weston on the main result of her long devotion to a very difficult and obscure question of so much literary and historical importance as the origin and meaning of the Quest of the Grail. It is a triumph of patience, learning and sagacity. A secret which has been kept for seven hundred years has at length been unveiled by her wide and persistent researches. The records of those researches, crowned with *From Ritual to Romance*, will stand as a permanent monument to the greatness of her achievement. In explaining the famous tale she has added beyond denial another glory to Welsh romance.

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# Gildas and Modern Professors.

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ON page 39 of *Y Cymmrodor*, xxvii, I quoted a remark of Peter Roberts, made over a century ago, to the effect that while great scholars attended to the references made by Bede and other authors to the writings commonly attributed to Gildas, yet (says he) such scholars *do not appear to have given that attention to the writings themselves, which was extremely necessary*. I complained that this was still the case, and quoted the instance of John Richard Green, the well known author of *A Short History of the English People*, who, seventy years after Peter uttered his protest, gravely informs the general public that "Gildas had seen the English invasion"; and yet the man, whom Green took to be Gildas, tells us plainly that fighting between Welsh and English ceased the year he was born! (*Excidium Britanniae*, 26).

John Richard Green has now ceased to count, possibly even in Oxford, where in my undergraduate days, 1893-6, when the "Teutons" were the people, and "Kelts" and "Latins" were mere riff-raff (the pendulum will now doubtless swing to the other extreme, equally stupid), his notions on the Anglo-Saxon Conquest of Britain from A.D. 449 onwards, the great trek of degenerate Britons and Latins into Wales, the half-time break when Gildas wrote, etc., etc., were regaled into my ears by Mr. Owen M. Edwards in the hall of Lincoln College, and further insisted on by my tutor, Mr. Reginald L. Poole, now



editor of the *English Historical Review*, at his house in Beaumont Street.

Seeing that the writings attributed to Gildas are regarded as the chief and well-nigh the only contemporary literary authority in Britain for the supposed Anglo-Saxon Conquest from A.D. 449 to the Battle of the Badonic Hill and the at least 43 years of peace which followed, one would reasonably conclude that all professors concerned with this period of history would concentrate their attention on these literary remains, leaving no word or syllable unstudied until they had been made to yield their secret. But this is far from being the case. They are treated with carelessness incredible. Immense deductions are drawn from them, which pass muster as history in the schools of the world, whilst at the same time they are regarded with a superciliousness, not indeed unprofessorial, but unscholarly without a doubt.

## I.

In 1906 Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, Fellow of University College, London, Fellow of the British Academy, issued his *History of England from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest*. It is the first of a series of Twelve Volumes entitled *The Political History of England* under the general editorship of the Rev. William Hunt, D.LITT., and Mr. Reginald L. Poole, M.A., editor of the *English Historical Review*. These are names of well known English Professors; and the *Political History* is an ambitious attempt to present the story of England in its fullest, most scholarly aspect. The first volume alone, the one by Dr. Hodgkin, with which we are now concerned, contains 491 pages of closely printed text. One would, therefore, suppose that here, at least, the public would have no ground for complaint. In this book the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

are regarded as the formative period of English national history; and the chief literary authority is held to be Gildas. One would expect, therefore, that Dr. Hodgkin would have brought all his learning and skill to bear on the remains, or supposed remains, of the pen of Gildas; and that the Rev. Dr. Hunt and Mr. Poole, as general editors, would have submitted Dr. Hodgkin's treatment of these remains to some scrutiny and criticism before the book appeared.

(a) Dr. Hodgkin (p. 496) in common with other professors regards the 110 chapters, which now go under the name of Gildas, as constituting a single homogeneous work written by the Welsh monk, St. Gildas, in or about A.D. 540. Yet (p. 95) he straightway dismisses chs. 27 to 110, wherein the princes and clergy of Britannia are denounced, as "outside our present purpose"; and in doing so incorrectly describes them as partly consisting "of fierce invectives against five wicked, or at least unfriendly, kings of Wales". Thus at the outset Dr. Hodgkin discards three-fourths of a supposed contemporary work bearing on the darkest period of English history, and in doing so commits an error, the nature of which indicates what little thought he had really given to this part of his subject. For the five kings are not five kings of Wales. The first of them is Constantine of Devon. And although Dr. Hodgkin may not have been expected to spot the second, namely, Aurelius Caninus,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Caninus was doubtless the king of Cornwall. St. Gildas (ch. 30) describes him as overwhelmed by sins as by waves of the sea, which is a covert reference to his narrow sea-bound realm. Leland (iii, 4) records a tradition that he had a son called Tristram, whence one might conclude that he was the same as Cynvor ab Tudwal, (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 86) described in the *Life of St. Pol de Leon* as a powerful ruler, under whose single rule four tongues of four diverse peoples were spoken. The same *Life* tells us that he bore another name,

yet he should have known that he could not be identified with any king in Wales, the royal lines of which are numerous and easily accessible. Only the remaining three are in Wales, Vortiporius (more rightly Voteporix) of Dyved, Cynlas [of *receptaculum ursi*, i.e., Dinerth, near Llandudno, in Rhos], and Maelgwn [Gwynedd], dragon of the island [of Anglesey].

(b) By lightly dismissing the above-mentioned chapters (27—110) Dr. Hodgkin shews that he failed to realise the importance of the *geography* of the five kings in determining what that Britannia was, whose secular and ecclesiastical rulers Gildas was lecturing "about 540". They are found, as I have said, in the Devonian peninsula and Wales, that is to say, amid some of those very

to wit, Marcus (*Rev. Celt.*, v, 431); and that he had a son Drystan is shewn by the inscription on a stone at Menabili, near Fowey, in Cornwall, *Drustayni ic iacit Cunomori filius*, (the burial place) of Drystan; here lies the son of Cynvor. Drystan is, of course, the Tristram of romance, and Cynvor or Marcus is likewise the original of the fabulous 'king Mark'. When St. Gildas addressed him, he appears to have been a lonely old man, whose wars and conquests the saint recalls to his memory. The four peoples and languages referred to above doubtless imply a reign extending some time over speakers of Latin, Irish, British and English. After reading sundry notes by Mr. Phillimore (some of which are to appear in Part 4 of Owen's *Pembrokeshire*) I am disposed to the following conclusions: (a) that Cynvor ab Tudwal is the Cynin Cōv (glossed *memorie*) ab Tudwal Bevr or *Flavus* of the Brychan documents (*I' Cymmrodor*, xix, 26, 30), Cynin being a shortened popular form of Cynin, as Cadog is of Cadvael; (b) that under this abbreviated form of his name he is commemorated at Tregoning, i.e., Tre Gynin, Cynin's *ton* or *ham*, in the parish of St. Breage, Cornwall; (c) that the *Caninus* of Gildas is a pun on the pet name, Cynin, pleasing to the Gildasian temper, which delights in dubbing the wicked princes 'bears', 'whelps', 'leopards', 'dragons', 'wild horses', etc.; (d) that the *pevr* of Tudwal Bevr is an early gloss on the family name *Aurelius*; (e) and that even the *cōv* of Cynin Cōv is implied in Gildas' *Recordare*, etc., Remember the profitless pride of thy fathers and brothers, their untimely death, and so forth.

mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west, into which the Britons, according to chapters 2—26 of the above supposed Gildasian work, had been pushed by the Saxons. As Gildas, according to Dr. Hodgkin, was writing "about 540" it follows that the Welsh had already retired into Wales and the Devonian peninsula, just as we find them in the clearer light of a century later.

(c) Nay, Dr. Hodgkin believes that Gildas "was born early in the sixth century" (p. 95) in the year of the Badonic victory (p. 99), since which time fighting between Britons and Saxons had virtually ceased. If, then, the professor had realized the bearing of the geography of the Five Kings of Britannia on the supposed Anglo-Saxon Conquest, which began about 449, he would have had to conclude that the insular Britons (all that was left of them) had fled to Wales and the west as early as about A.D. 500.

Let us pause here for a moment, and let us suppose with Dr. Hodgkin and other professors that the 110 chapters do really form a single piece written by Gildas about 540, when the saint (as he himself in such case tells us) was 43 years of age. This makes him to have been born about 500; and, note well, he is writing about a marvellous displacement of Britons from 'England' into Wales and the West, which occurred in the time of his father, and was finished and done with by the year he was born. The Saxons (he tells us) did not even land in Britain till some interval after A.D. 446; everything was over by about A.D. 500. The leading princes of the Britons are no longer found in the east or in the midlands, but only in western corners, two of them in the Devonian corner, one in S.W. Wales, and two in North Wales. The marvel was accomplished by about A.D. 500, which did not begin till some interval after A.D. 446! There is

no escape for our official historians from this impasse. On their hypothesis the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain as taught by Dr. Hodgkin and the schoolbooks, falls to the ground. Either our professors have skipped the difficulties presented by the Gildasian writings, or they have failed in paying that close and serious attention to them, which was and is *extremely necessary*.

But let me proceed to demonstrate what one cannot but describe as the off-handed manner in which Dr. Thomas Hodgkin is pleased to treat his chief authority.

(d) He says that according to Gildas the Romans before they left Britain "built a line of towers along the coast right down to the southern shore" (p. 96). What ch. 18 really states is, not that the Romans built coast towers all the way down to the south, but that they built them *ad meridianam plagam*, towards the south,—a very different thing. They constructed towers at intervals overlooking the sea, not right down the coast to the south, but on that portion of the British coast, which is towards the south of the island. The reference, of course, is to the forts of the Saxon Shore, some nine in number, which extended from the Wash to the Solent.

(e) Dr. Hodgkin says that the English invented "all sorts of grievances against their hosts", (p. 98) and used them as a justification for breaking their covenant and roaming with ravage all over the land. This both adds to what we are told in ch. 23 and also colours its evidence; for what is there said is that the English on the pretext that their monthly rations were insufficient, threatened to waste the island, which they did in one amazing sweep from the eastern side to the Western Ocean. As a result of this amazing sweep, the Welsh were confined to the west, where the five Gildasian kings are found. When Dr. Hodgkin talks about the English roaming with

ravage all over the land, he is slurring over the plain language of his chief authority, who in glowing terms makes the English to drive the Welsh from east to west.

(f) Dr. Hodgkin says (p. 98) that when the tide of English conquest turned, "some of the invaders" returned to their own homes. Ch. 25 says that they *all* returned. This is an important point, lost on Dr. Hodgkin, revealing what the true story was, on which the absurdities of the *Excidium Britanniae* are based.

(g) Dr. Hodgkin has it (p. 99) that Ambrosius Aurelianus was "the only Roman sprung from the wearers of the purple" being "the modest descendant of emperors". Ch. 25 on the other hand says that Ambrosius was the last of the Romans in Britain, a modest man, whose parents doubtless had worn the purple.

(h) Dr. Hodgkin says (p. 99) that the siege of the Badonic Hill was the last and greatest slaughter of the invaders. Ch. 26 says it was almost the last great slaughter.

(i) Dr. Hodgkin says (p. 99) that for a space after the Badonic Hill victory men "turned to the Lord". There is nothing of this in the *Excidium Britanniae*.

(j) Dr. Hodgkin says (p. 99) "that the cities were no longer inhabited as securely as of old". Ch. 26 says they were not inhabited at all. "Deserted and dismantled they lie neglected until now."

I submit that when the supposed solitary contemporary document from the least known period of English history is treated in this light fashion by men of eminence like Dr. Hodgkin, writing under the general editorship of two other eminent men, Dr. Hunt and Mr. Poole of the *English Historical Review*, it is no wonder that sometime or other a voice like that of Peter Roberts will rise from the crowd in protest that historical documents, of which our



university professors of history are the official and paid interpreters, are not receiving that attention, which the public rightly expect of them.

## II.

Another recent work, which touches on the early post-Roman centuries of Britain is *The Cambridge Mediæval History*, planned by J. B. Bury, Professor of Modern History, and edited by H. M. Gwatkin, M.A., and J. P. Whitney, B.D., Vol. I (1911). Chapter xiii. of this work is divided into two parts, A, written by F. J. Haverfield, Ll.D., F.B.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford; and B, by F. G. M. Beck, M.A., Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

### A.

(a) Dr. Haverfield<sup>1</sup> in referring to Maximus, who proclaimed himself emperor in Britain in 383 and was killed in 388, says (p. 379): "Later British tradition of the sixth century asserted that his British troops never returned home and that the island was thus left defenceless. We cannot verify this tradition".

Professor Haverfield is of course referring to the *Excidium Britanniae*, 18, which in common with other professors he regards as having been written by Gildas about A.D. 540. Now, stupid as the ideas of the *Excidium* may be, it is necessary and "extremely necessary" that we should understand what they are. Until we do, we shall be unable to tell whether they were really current traditions of Britain or mere fancies of the author. Professor Haverfield, for instance, states that the non-return of the British troops of Maximus with the consequent exposure of the island to barbaric invasions was a "British

<sup>1</sup> I have left the text as I wrote it prior to Dr. Haverfield's lamented death.



tradition of the sixth century". A close reading of the *Excidium* would indicate rather that the idea originated in the author's own brain. He believed that until after the Revolt of Maximus no Pict, Scot, or Saxon had ever invaded Britain. Up to that time according to him the island was wholly British. How was it then (he asked himself) that it fell an easy prey to Picts and Scots? How was it that the Britons in his day only occupied wild, western corners? He sought a reason, and found it in the Revolt of Maximus. He exaggerated the details, making Maximus to drain the island of all its military strength to the last able-bodied youth, even to the last weapon! They never returned; hence the exposure of the island and the loss of Britain! Now, even if this had been so, yet from the death of Maximus in 388 to the year 407, when the tyrant, Constantine, left the island, there would have been ample time for Britain to have bred another army. Moreover, we know from Zosimus (vi, 6) that at that time Britain did take up arms and expel the Roman officials.<sup>1</sup>

(b) "The old idea that Britons and Romans are still two distinct and hostile racial elements, has, of course, been long abandoned by all competent inquirers" (p. 379). As I have already stated in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxvii, 65, Professor Haverfield will have to face the difficulty that the *Excidium*,

<sup>1</sup> In the days when the 'Teutonic' school prevailed in Oxford, we used to be taught that "it was not Britain which broke lose from the Empire, but the Empire which gave up Britain". Dr. Haverfield in 1915 still clung to this opinion, though he was forced to make a most damaging admission. Zosimus, as is well known, describes Britain as revolting from Rome when Constantine III was tyrant (407-11). But lower he casually states, *in the middle of a chapter about Italy*, that Honorius wrote to Britain, bidding the provincials defend themselves. "Possibly" says Dr. Haverfield "as the context suggests and as Gothofredus and others have thought, the name 'Britain' is here a copyist's mistake for 'Bruttii'." (*The Romanization of Roman Britain*, 3rd ed., 1915, pp. 78-9.)

written according to him "about 540", differentiates between Britons and Romans, the former being the native population, conquered and enslaved by Rome, the latter being the official alien class, placed and kept in power by the imperial government.

(c) Professor Haverfield says (p. 380) that years after the cessation of Roman rule in Britain, "the Britons considered themselves 'Romans'. If we may believe Gildas, they even appealed for help to Aëtius, the Roman Minister, in 446".

It goes without saying that Britain did not forget that it had formed part of the Roman Empire. It is Dr. Haverfield's frequently expressed opinion, that the province was so thoroughly Romanized, especially the lowlands of the south east, that no competent inquirer would now entertain the old idea that Britons and Romans still remained two distinct and hostile racial elements. Yet the fact remains that this idea is precisely the one held by the author of the *Excidium*, who was writing (so Dr. Haverfield believes) "about 540". Britons and Romans are entirely differentiated; nor does the *Excidium* provide one scrap of evidence that the Britons at that time deemed themselves Romans. They had indeed been under the dominion of the Romans (as the author of the *Excidium* proved for himself from archæological remains and from the testimony of continental authors like Orosius); so much so that the race might no longer be regarded as British but Roman (chap. 7), Dr. Haverfield's own doctrine. The island had even retained the Roman name when Maximus revolted (chap. 13); and even pleaded the Roman name when appeal was sent to Rome for help (chap. 17), but the Britons and the Romans to him are always distinct quantities. We are even told the name of the last of the Romans in Britain, to wit, Ambrosius Aurelianus. Yet

even as early as A.D. 446 when the Britons appealed to Aëtius for assistance, they do not say, *To Aetius the groans of the Romans*, but *gemitus Britannorum*, the groans of the Britons.

There is indeed one passage where the author seems to call Latin *nostra lingua*, our language. It is in chap. 23, where the Saxons are said to have arrived *tribus ut lingua ejus exprimitur cyulis nostra longis navibus*. This is commonly translated: "in three *keels* as it is expressed in their language, *longae naves* in ours". In 1915, however, I noticed that the words allow of quite another construction, consistent with the author's general differentiation between the Britons, his own countrymen, and the Romans: "in three ships, *cyulae*, keels, as it is expressed in their language (English), *longae*, llongau, in ours (Welsh)". I pointed this out in the *Celtic Review* (1915), 218; and again in *Y Cymmrodor* (1917), 48. Gildas in chap. 32, when translating the Celtic name, Cynlas, into Latin, calls the latter, not *nostra lingua*, but *Romana lingua*, the Roman tongue.

(d) "It seems probable, however, that the Britons of the early fourth century [? a slip for fifth], harassed by attacks of all kinds, adopted the common device—even more familiar in that age than in any other—to set a thief to catch a thief. The man who set is named Vortigern of Kent; the thieves who were set, are called Hengest and Horsa" (p. 380). And again: "Durovernum (Canterbury), presumably the capital of Vortigern" (p. 381).

Professor Haverfield twice associates Vortigern with Kent. It should be pointed out, however, that in none of the stories, on which all subsequent accounts of Vortigern are based, is that king called Vortigern of Kent; nor do they give any support to the Professor's presumption that Durovernum or Canterbury was Vortigern's capital. (i.) In

the *Excidium*, 23, the *superbus tyrannus*, proud tyrant, who rightly or wrongly is identified with Vortigern, is clearly treated as the supreme leader of the Britons. At his direction the Saxons first settle "in the eastern portion of the island", which might mean anywhere from the Firth of Forth to the Solent. Thus there is nothing in the *Excidium* to associate Vortigern specially with Kent. (ii.) In the *Historia Brittonum*, 31, 37, Vortigern is made to present Hengist and Horsa with the island of Thanet. Then he is made to give Hengist the region of Kent, which is handed over to the pagans *without the knowledge of its king*, *Guoyrancgonus*. Vortigern, therefore, was not king of Kent with Canterbury as capital. (iii.) In Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, vi, 6, Vortigern is first introduced as *consul Gewisseorum*, consul of the Gewissei (or West Saxons as they were afterwards better known). This fixes Vortigern in the west rather than in the east; and herein Geoffrey agrees with the *Historia Brittonum*, 47, 49, which does associate Vortigern with Gloucester and Gwrtheyrnion (in modern Radnorshire). In any case he is not "Vortigern of Kent". (iv.) Bede, in his *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 14, 15, following the *Excidium*, treats Vortigern as king of the Britons, who invited the Saxons to the island, and assigned them a place to settle "in the eastern portion of the island". (v.) In the *Saxon Chronicle* (s.a. 449) Vortigern is king of the Britons as in Bede. Of course, Professor Haverfield may be referring to later stories, but the above are the earliest accounts of Vortigern. And in not a single instance is the Professor justified in associating Vortigern closely and specially with Kent and Canterbury.

(e) "The incident [of setting a thief to catch a thief, just referred to] is sufficiently well attested and sufficiently probable to find acceptance, and it obviously occurred early in the fifth century" (p. 380).

It occurred according to the *Excidium* no small interval after A.D. 446. So we are told by a man who, according to Professor Haverfield, was born about 500 and was writing about 540. Truly it is hard to kick against the pricks.

### B.

Mr. Beck says: "many scholars have probably gone too far in supposing that the native population was entirely blotted out. British records say that they were massacred or enslaved" (p. 387).

"British records" indeed! Mr. Beck knows very well there is only one British record with which he has to deal, and that is the *Excidium Britanniae* written, according to him, by Gildas before 549. It must be stated quite frankly that confidence in Mr. Beck is not strengthened when he tells us that the "Cambrian Annals" (as he terms it) "date the siege of Mons Badonicus in 518" and the death of Maelgwn in 549! Also that "the majority of scholars accept the latter of these dates, but reject the former"! (p. 388.)

### III.

In 1911 there appeared a long-expected work, which was to be (and indeed is) a kind of first-fruits of modern Welsh historical scholarship,—*A History of Wales* from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest, by John Edward Lloyd, M.A., Professor of History in the University College of North Wales, Bangor. Like many other inquirers I opened this book with no little interest, wondering in particular how an up-to-date Welsh historian would deal with the writings ascribed to Gildas, whether he would have given them that attention which is, in the words of old Peter Roberts, *extremely necessary*, hearing their own voice and not merely other people's echoes of it.

(a) Professor Lloyd says (p. 161): "The authenticity of the *De Excidio* as a real production of the early sixth century is no longer seriously questioned. The MSS. are all of late date, but the extensive use of the work by Bede, who mentions 'Gildus' by name (*H.E.*, i, 22), makes it impossible to suppose it of later date than A.D. 700".

The Professor errs. Bede used the *Excidium* for his *Hist. Eccl.*, written about 730, and also for his *De temporum ratione*, written in 725. Bede is not known to have used the book prior to this date. He certainly did not know it when he wrote his *De temporibus* in 702-3. Therefore what the Professor should have said is that Bede's use of the *Excidium* makes it impossible to suppose it of later date than A.D. 725.

(b) Again, on p. 142, Professor Lloyd states that the *Excidium* was used in the seventh century by the author of the *Saxon Genealogies*. The reference, of course, is to chap. 63 of the *Historia Brittonum*, where occurs the following passage: *in illo autem tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives vincebantur*, at that time sometimes the enemy, and now the citizens, were being overcome; with which is to be compared the opening of chap. 26 of the *Excidium*, namely, *ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant*, from that time now the citizens now the enemy were victorious. Doubtless in this the author of the *Genealogies* shows acquaintance with the *Excidium Britanniae*. And he certainly interprets it better than the Professor, for whereas the latter dates these occasional victories in the 5th century, i.e., from after A.D. 446 to about A.D. 500, the author of the *Saxon Genealogies* dates them after St. Augustine's mission in Kent, A.D. 597, and in the 7th century. But, not to dwell on this, Professor Lloyd's statement assumes that the *Saxon Genealogies* is a seventh-century document. In its present form it certainly is not,



whatever the first draft may have been, for the latest known person mentioned (ch. 60) is Ecgfrid, son of King Offa of Mercia; and as Ecgfrid only reigned for a few months in A.D. 796, it looks as though that was the year of the document's appearance in the form we have it. It has been inferred by Zimmer and Thurneysen that an earlier text was composed in 679, whence doubtless comes Professor Lloyd's unqualified ascription of the *Saxon Genealogies* to the seventh century. But the passage on which the two continental Professors, followed by the Welsh one, rely for their supposition, namely *Ecgfrid filius Osbiu regnavit novem annis*, Ecgfrid, son of Oswy, reigned nine years (ch. 65), may easily be due to a slight scribal error, *viii* for *xiii*. The latter figure would be correct, since Ecgfrith reigned from February 15, 671, to May 20, 685 (see Munro Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation*, 345).

(c) Professor Lloyd rightly says (p. 96) that the *Excidium* makes the Scots and Picts to have attacked Britain from the north-west and from the north respectively. But he ought to have added in both cases "over the sea". Instead of this, however, he goes on to say that "partly no doubt they came by land". It is clear that the Professor will not let himself read what his supposed Gildas plainly tells him. For the *Excidium* makes out that the whole island of Britain from John o' Groats to Land's End was occupied by Britons. It was all British. When this all-British island was exposed for the first time in its history to barbarian invasions by the continental adventure of Maximus, killed 388, the Scots came over the water from Ireland, and the Picts also came over the water—from the north, which must mean some transmarine quarter beyond Pentland Firth! Professor Lloyd will find a perfectly accurate interpretation of the



idea of the *Excidium* in the *Historia Brittonum*, chap. 12, where the Picts are said to have come from the Orkney islands, and occupied many districts in the northern part of Britain, where they remained holding a third part of the island. And the Professor likewise will find a perfectly inaccurate representation of the same in Bede's *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 12, where the Picts and Scots are said to have been called transmarine, not because they dwelt outside Britain (as the *Excidium* says), but because they came over the Firths of Forth and Clyde. The *Excidium* makes them dwell outside the island. They were over-sea savages, who never invaded Britain till after the Revolt of Maximus (383—388); not till after A.D. 446 did the Picts begin to settle! This idea of the *Excidium* is doubtless very silly, and there are other ideas equally silly to be found in the book. But it is not only necessary, it is, as Peter Roberts said, *extremely* necessary, that our Professors should learn to know what they are.

(d) This same unwillingness or failure on the part of Professor Lloyd to grasp the notions of the *Excidium Britanniae* and to perceive their bearing on the course of its account of the loss of Britain, is seen on page 93 of the *History of Wales*, where he says that "Gildas perhaps puts the matter too strongly when he alleges that Maximus despoiled the country of all its soldiers and military supplies". As a matter of fact the man, whom the Professor takes to be Gildas, could not put the matter strongly enough for his particular purpose. He wanted a reason for the terrible loss of the island. He found it in the Revolt of Maximus (383-388). It was then that the island was exposed to the savages. But how was it that the Britons did not defend themselves? He must offer some explanation; and so he labours to show how Maximus weakened Britain, taking away every soldier,

every official, every able-bodied man, and every weapon ! *And they never returned !* This has proved the tiny seed of legend and pseudo-history down to this day. They never returned. Professors, whom our author in all innocence has gulled for centuries, ask in amazement what became of those who never returned ? The *Excidium* is not concerned with such a trifle. All it seeks is to provide a reason why Britain languished unresistingly under the attacks of the northern barbarians.

(e) Professor Lloyd says (p. 110): "It has often been confidently stated that the natives of South-eastern Britain, when driven from their homes by the English invaders, found a refuge in large numbers in the mountains of Wales and thus became the ancestors of the Welsh people. But for migration into Wales at this period from the East or from the South there is no evidence".<sup>1</sup>

I agree. But it is amazing that Professor Lloyd should make such a statement, and I fail completely to understand how he is able to do so in view of the fact that he thinks the *Excidium Britanniae* was written by Gildas "not long after 540" (p. 141). For the *Excidium* tells us plainly that some interval after A.D. 446 the Saxons

<sup>1</sup> Nothing in Prof. Lloyd's *History* surprised me more than the passage quoted, for no one had stated more confidently than himself that the Britons were driven from England into Wales. In his *Ail Lyfr Hanes* (Caernarfon, 1896), p. 61, he says: "Thus in the South, the Centre, and the North, the English were hemming in the Britons and confining them to the mountainous regions in the west of the island. Glen after glen and mountain after mountain slipped from the grasp of the old inhabitants, and they were every day driven nearer the Irish Sea". I am not aware that Prof. Lloyd has ever explained how between the years 1896 and 1911 he came to accomplish so complete a volte-face. For be it remembered that his 1896 view is the familiar, age-long, traditionary one of both Wales and England, derived through Bede from the *Excidium*; his 1911 opinion, on the other hand, is novel, revolutionary, most unofficial, and with his presumptions baseless.

landed in Britain for the first time, drove the Britons into the uplands of the West, whence they are not made to recover a scrap of lost ground. The kings whom Gildas addresses are all found in the West. Fighting had practically ceased for over 43 years, so that the expulsion of the Britons occurred between 446 and about 500! Densely ignorant (p. 98) as Gildas may have been of the history of the island, surely the Professor will give the man credit for knowing what occurred in the lifetime of his own father, and what must have been the common knowledge and talk of his contemporaries.

(f) Professor Lloyd (page 110, note 65) states that "early exponents of this view [that the Britons were driven into Wales] are Geoffrey of Monmouth . . . and William of Newburgh".

Here again the Professor fails, or is unwilling, to see that the earliest and chief exponent, six centuries, according to him, before these men, and the prime source of their information, is the *Excidium Britanniae*, which is quite explicit on this matter. Are our professors to go on for ever saying that the *Excidium* was written by Gildas about 540, hailing him as their one authority, pretending that he is the rock behind their assurances, and at the same time treating his evidence as though it were no evidence at all? What the *Excidium* states of the expulsion of the Britons from the eastern lowlands to the western hills could not be stated more plainly. It is the accepted title of the book, drawn from its own words, *desperatum insulae excidium*, the hopeless ruin of the island (chap. 26). The island was ruined and lost by the Britons. The Picts took and settled in the north. The Saxons took the east and south, burning, killing, driving forth, until they reached the Western Ocean, depriving the wretched Welsh remnants of almost all the land.

(g) "Between the first settlement of the English in Britain and the mission of Augustine lie 150 years which are not a whit less important in the early history of Wales than in that of England. During this period the Welsh tribes cast off all traces of heathenism and of political subjection and, in common with the more civilized Britons of the East, become well organised Christian communities, ruled by powerful monarchs, ministered to by a learned clergy, led to battle by champions, whose renown has not yet faded" (p. 124).

As the mission of St. Augustine began in 597, the first settlement of the English in Britain according to Professor Lloyd must be fixed about 447. This shews that the Professor accepts Bede's misinterpretation of the *Excidium*, which he reads through Bede's eyes. For the *Excidium* makes the English land no small interval after A.D. 446. Bede (H.E., i, 15) ignored this and fixed the event in the joint-reign of Martian and Valentinian III. I am not sure that I understand what Professor Lloyd means when he says that the "Welsh tribes" cast off all traces of "political subjection". If he means subjection to Rome, surely this would have happened as early as about 408, when Britain according to Zosimus (vi, 6) threw off Roman domination. And as for the more civilized "Britons of the East" and their well organized Christian communities, ruled by powerful monarchs, ministered to by a learned clergy, and led to battle by renowned champions, I am at a loss to know where Professor Lloyd obtained any information concerning them. The *Excidium* says that southern Britain was overrun by Picts and Scots from 407 till after 446. Then, and not till then, did the Britons win their first victory over those two northern nations. The Scots went back to Ireland; the Picts began to settle for the first time in north Britain. There

now followed no small interval of prosperity till the Picts and Scots came for the fourth time, and the English were called in. Professor Lloyd, however, cannot possibly believe in this interval of prosperity, because according to him the English landed as early as 447 and continued fighting till the Battle of the Badonic Hill "about 500". Who then can these "Britons of the East" be, who formed well organized Christian communities, ruled by powerful monarchs, ministered to by a learned clergy, and led to battle by renowned champions! It is true the *Excidium* tells of a period of unprecedented prosperity beginning some time after A.D. 446 and continuing for a space which cannot have been a small one; and if Gildas wrote the *Excidium*, he ought to know. But even that came to an end when the English landed, for they soon bundled the Britons out of the east into the west. Who then can these "Britons of the East" be?

(h) "Unless we are entirely to discard the evidence supplied by Gildas, it must be believed that the first stage of the English conquest and occupation came to an end about the beginning of the sixth century, to be followed by a truce of half a century, and that it was not until 550 or thereabouts that a second onward movement began, threatening this time the Britons of the North and West and reducing them ere long within very narrow limits" (p. 127).

Even so. The Professor is brought to a stand. If he believes that a truce of fifty years commences about A.D. 500, he is bound to discard the story of the Invasion of Wessex as given in the *Saxon Chronicle*. There is no other alternative. If the story of the Invasion of Wessex is true, or even approximately so, then the "Gildas" of the professors is not true. Out of this difficulty the professors cannot escape; and it is here verily that they are all bank-

rupt. By no ingenuity can *their* "Gildas" be fitted into the scheme of the Saxon Chronicle. They have, one and all, read the *Excidium* through the eyes of Bede and of the Chroniclers who follow Bede; and Bede and the Chroniclers have led them into a morass. And yet they will not repent, nor devote their attention to the Gildasian writings themselves, which is still, as in the days of Peter Roberts, *extremely necessary*.

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# The Origin of the Welsh Grammar School.

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WELSH Grammar Schools have their origin in the sixth century and are therefore nearly a hundred years older than those of England, the first English grammar school being established at Canterbury by St. Augustine in A.D. 598. This seniority is directly attributed to the prior spread of Christianity in Wales, although it did not show itself a living force and a real factor till the sixth century.

Throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, the expulsion of the Celtic tribes from Britain to the confines of modern Wales was in progress and by the first quarter of the following century the movement had reached its completion. The Britons, a kindred tribe, had effected their subjugation and became dominant. These, like the vigorous Normans whose assimilation to the Angles, Saxons and Jutes resulted in the English race, became the galvanising force of their weaker brothers. Hence arose the Wales and the Welsh language of to-day. Co-eval with the birth of the Welsh nation, arose the Church in Wales. The extent to which the Welsh had been prepared for the reception of the new faith is indicated by the impress left on them and their language by the Latin culture during their occupation of Britain. Many conceivably had embraced Christianity and the Welsh language was enriched by a large number of words borrowed directly from the



Latin.<sup>1</sup> The progress of Christianity, however, during the Roman occupation was slow.<sup>2</sup> Hence ensued a period of speculation from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, when writers endeavoured to denominate apostles and princes as the first Christian missionaries in this island. Although modern criticism has dismissed their accounts "as poetry,"<sup>3</sup> the versions contain a nucleus of truth. A tentative proof is mooted by the writers that Christianity was the fruit of missionary effort with its genesis in Rome, rather than the direct product of the expansion of the new religion in the Latin Empire. The influence exerted by the Church in Gaul, regulated by the Bishop of Arles, the papal vicar, on the British Church during the fifth century, makes the motive of these writers apparent. The proscription of Pelagianism in Italy and Gaul at the beginning of this century necessitated an asylum in Britain. The spread of this heresy created alarm at Rome, and in A.D. 429 Pope Celestine, at the application of deacon Palladius, sent Germanus, a distinguished Gallic bishop, as his legate, to drive out the heretics and guide the Britons back to the catholic faith.<sup>4</sup> Germanus was accompanied by another Gallic bishop, Lupus of Troyes (*scholis adhibitus et rhetorum studiis imbutus*),<sup>5</sup> who had been appointed for this task by the Gallic prelates assembled in synod in this city, consequent upon a petition for spiritual aid forwarded from Britain.<sup>6</sup> The mission was eminently

<sup>1</sup> A large number of these borrowed words deal with Reading and Writing, *vide* J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, i, 116; 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Gildas avers that the natives (*incolae*) received it indifferently. Pt. i, c. 9, "De Excidio Britanniae".

<sup>3</sup> (a) *Transactions of the Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1893-4, p. 65; (b) J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, i, 103; 1912.

<sup>4</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Bk. i, c. 17 (Edited by C. Plummer, 1896). <sup>5</sup> *The Schools of Gaul*, p. 165. 1920. T. Haarhoff.

<sup>6</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Bk. i, c. 17 (Edited by C. Plummer, 1896).

successful, heresy was stamped out and the orthodox faith restored. The questions arise why Celestine commissioned a Gallic bishop to undertake the task and what was the meaning of the British appeal for assistance to the Gallic bishops? The answer is evident. During the first half of the fifth century Rome was in a state of chaos. The city was sacked in 410 by Alaric and again in 455 by Gaiserich. These events must have created considerable distraction in the minds of the papal authorities, who would thus be prevented from sending any material aid to the abandoned provinces.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand Gaul had superseded the "mother country"; had become the educational centre of the western world, and was now (fifth century) teaching the Empire. Moreover, the missionaries, in order to eradicate the heresy in the shortest time, needed an acquaintance with the native language. The propinquity of Britain to Gaul probably induced an acquaintanceship on the part of their respective bishops, and conceivably familiarised the Gallic clergy with the Celtic tongue. Supporting evidence confirms the view that both missionaries spoke the native tongue, for they preached in churches, streets and fields, and were followed by crowds wherever they went.<sup>2</sup> Hence, it may be inferred that the efforts of those writers, from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, to show that Christianity came directly from Rome, were mainly concentrated on the object of minimising the extent of Gallic influence on the introduction of Christianity into Britain.

The Church in Wales displays real activity in the sixth century, and this revival was due to the new energy that

<sup>1</sup> The Papacy did not become a centre of European influence till the time of Gregory the Great (590—604) who is, really, the first great founder of the mediæval Church.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Bk. i, c. 17 (Edited by C. Plummer, 1896).

was infused into clerical life by the monastic movement. With the dissolution of the Roman Empire there set in a period of savage violence and unbridled lust. In consequence, the more zealous Christians resolved to live a life of seclusion and thus preserve themselves from the contamination of worldly society. Two Egyptians, Antony and Pachonius, set the example, and in a short time the sandy plains of Egypt were peopled with anchorites. They acquired the name of monks and their dwellings were called monasteries. Subsequently the monks united to form one body, appointed the most prominent of their number their abbot, and their group of dwellings, which were ranged around, was denominated his monastery. The movement spread with alarming rapidity over the neighbouring provinces and was viewed with grave concern by the bishops of the Catholic Church. The Public or Grammar Schools established throughout the Empire, whence the Church drew its recruits,<sup>1</sup> were disappearing with the Empire. Events were moving rapidly towards the dissolution of the Church, as an organised body, as well as the Empire. Fortunately, the Church had able champions at the time who realised that monasticism contained elements which were antagonistic to the very essence of their cause and would lead eventually to its downfall. Imbued with the spirit of organisation, of conquest and activity, they would not allow the monkish idea to prevail. The monks had fled from the world, but it was the duty of the Church to conquer and rule it for Christ. With this end in view schools were established, and herein lies the source of that ecclesiastical control of education which lasted down to Reformation times. But these Schools

<sup>1</sup> (a) *The Church's Task under the Roman Empire*, pp. 7 and 8; 25 and 26. 1905. Chas. Bigg, D.D. (b) *The Schools of Mediæval England*, pp. 10, 13, and 20. 1915. A. F. Leach.

were not the creation of Christianity, for the better spirits among the fifth century Christians took "from pagan education and literature whatever was good and useful."<sup>1</sup> The Schools were accordingly based on the late Grammar Schools of the Empire and thus indirectly on those of Greece. Our Grammar Schools have thus a pagan origin. Furthermore, these ecclesiastical educationists engrafted in their scheme the best features of monachism by subjecting the youths who attended their schools to a rigid form of discipline and to a communal life under a common roof. Owing to the confused state of Italy the lead (as might be conjectured), was taken by Gaul, when Bishop Martin (died *circa* A.D. 400) established such a seminary in his church at Tours, with the object of preparing youths for the priesthood. He compelled his scholars to live the communal life and subjected them to the monastic discipline when they were not employed in the exercise of their appropriate duties. Hence his institution was entirely secular and had no real connection with monasticism. Similar schools were established in Lyons, Arles, Auxerre and Troyes. The movement now became an important function of the ecclesiastical regime, for we find in the digest of church rules which was used by the Gallic Church during the second half of the fifth century and the sixth, the injunction (Canon 45) directing that "all clerics strong enough to work, must learn a trade and Latin Grammar" (*litteras*).<sup>2</sup> From this time the term "monastery" unfortunately, was applied indifferently to clerical and monastic establishments. This indiscriminate application has led to grave misunderstanding. Alford,

<sup>1</sup> *Schools of Gaul*, p. 172. 1920. T. Haarhoff.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, I. 382—394. Maassen.

See *Gildas* II, 152, 153. Hugh Williams. *Cymmrodorion Record Series*. 1901.

the annalist, for example, declares that the word "monastery" implies a house belonging to monks.<sup>1</sup> This confusion, as far as Wales is concerned, led to the now generally accepted statement that the Church in Wales was established on a monastic basis. But the distinction between the clerical and monastic monastery repeatedly occurs not only in the documents dealing with Wales,<sup>2</sup> but also in those of other nations. With the passing of time, the term "monastery" was applied to country churches with their adjoining buildings and then to the churches only. The latter idea is still conveyed in York Minster and Westminster. It is for these reasons that Lingard has declared "that occasionally, because the house was called a monastery, the mass priest was denominated abbot, and his clerks monks, *although they had no real connection with the monastic order.*"<sup>3</sup>

In 595 Pope Gregory indited a letter wherein he rates Desiderius, "Bishop of Gaul," because "as we cannot relate without shame, it has come to our knowledge that your brotherhood teaches grammar to certain persons: which we take all the worse as it converts what we formerly said to lamentation and mourning, since the praise of Christ cannot lie in one mouth with the praise of Jupiter. Consider yourself what a crime it is for bishops to recite what would be improper for a religiously minded layman."<sup>4</sup> Upon this passage the authority on mediæval education has pronounced judgment as follows:—"Part

<sup>1</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, I, 137, f.n. 1858. J. Lingard, D.D.

<sup>2</sup> The settlement was not a monastery in our sense of the word, but a Christian village community, something like the groups of Christians in the earliest days of the church as described in the Acts of the Apostles".—*The Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 154. 1897. J. W. Willis Bund.

<sup>3</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, I, 146, f.n. 1858. J. Lingard, D.D.

<sup>4</sup> *The Schools of Mediæval England*, p. 29; 1915. A. F. Leach.

of this sentence is an adaptation of Jerome at his worst, but it is valuable as showing that even in the Christian grammar schools the old curriculum was retained and boys were still brought up on Virgil's Eclogues. For the words are a distinct reference to the lines *Ab Jove principum, Musae, Jovis omnia plena*, and the loves of Corydon and Alexis. This letter has been sometimes interpreted as showing that Gregory was wholly opposed to learning. But this interpretation is inconsistent with his own writings and acts. What he objected to was not the teaching of school generally, but its being taught by the bishop, whose business was prayer, psalm-singing, and preaching, not teaching. Gregory always recognised the necessity of classical study for the young. But he did not think it should be mixed with religious instruction in those charged with the care of the Church."<sup>1</sup> Gregory himself attended public grammar and rhetoric schools as evidenced by his namesake of Tours in his statement that he (Gregory) was "so well drilled in grammar, logic and rhetoric that no one in Rome was considered even second to him."<sup>2</sup> He founded a School at Rome and its primary object was the preparation of recruits, with himself as "their teacher and their head," for the ministry. The regulations, however, which he imposed on his scholars "were widely different from the statutes of most religious orders."<sup>3</sup> He also instituted a Song School, selected music, and established the chant which is named after him. He personally taught the choristers, and the whip with which he corrected them was preserved for centuries as a relic.<sup>4</sup> Augustine, the English missionary and one of his pupils, established

<sup>1</sup> *The Schools of Mediæval England*, pp. 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, i, 138; 1858. J. Lingard, D.D.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. ii, Pt. i, 5; 1862. J. C. Robertson, M.A.



similar schools (Grammar and Song) at Christchurch, Canterbury, in 598,<sup>1</sup> where the same code of domestic discipline to which he had been accustomed at home, prevailed.

Reference has been made above to the establishment of grammar schools in the bishoprics of Auxerre and Troyes at the beginning of the fifth century and to the appointment of their respective bishops, Germanus and Lupus, to crush the Pelagian heresy in Britain *circa* A.D. 430. On this mission a huge mass of fable was afterwards built by later Welsh writers. These fables maintain that Wales was the favourite spot visited by these missionaries. Here they reformed the Church, introduced the division into parishes, established two colleges at Llancarvan and Llantwit, where the education of the Welsh saints was undertaken by them personally or their disciples. These prelates may or may not have visited Wales—the latter conjecture is now the generally accepted view—but it cannot be refuted that towards the close of this century the Church in Wales was imbued with a new spirit which manifested itself in the founding of churches coupled with the institution of grammar schools, wherein the youthful clergy were trained to uphold the orthodox Christianity. The first half of the sixth century has been called “The Age of the Saints,” when the term “saint” involved the sole implication that the person so called was a Christian and later was a member of a Christian community<sup>2</sup> and not, as Hugh Williams, followed by Professor Lloyd, suggests, a “monk.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Grammar School, the oldest in England, still flourishes under the name of King's School, not from its original donor, Ethelbert, but from its refounder, Henry VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion*, p. 22; 1893—4.

<sup>3</sup> (a) Introduction *Vita Gildae*, Pt. ii, 321, *Cymmrodorion Record Series*; 1901. (b) *History of Wales*, i, 148; 1912. J. E. Lloyd.



A very noticeable feature regarding these saints is their connection with South Wales. This characteristic is due to geographical causes. During the expulsion of the Britons into Wales by the ever increasing hordes of Anglo-Saxons, there were three routes open to them, namely, along the southern coast and along the valleys of the Usk and the Wye. In these low-lying and fertile districts the masses settled and the movement northwards, which probably commenced during the second half of the sixth century, was slow and gradual. It is for this reason that the earliest churches were built in these parts, in the midst of populous areas and not in isolated and remote spots. The "*Vitae*" of the saints clearly prove that as bishops they lived and worked among their people. It is also significant that practically all of them had to overcome considerable opposition from the unconverted before they were able to build their churches.

The first protagonists of the native Church, like those in Gaul, realised the extreme importance of education not only for the purpose of checking the monastic impulse but also for the propagation of the Christian faith itself. For to the Welsh, particularly to those who dwelt in the imperfectly Romanized regions,—as it was to the barbarians across the border in the seventh century,<sup>1</sup>—Christianity was a foreign product clothed in the Latin language. Latin was the language in which the Church service was performed; the language in which the Scriptures were read; the language of the Fathers in whose writings the interpretation of those Scriptures was sought. Moreover, Professor Haverfield declares that "however numerous may be the Latin personal names and 'culture words' in Welsh, it is beyond question that the tradition of Roman days was lost in Britain during the fifth or early sixth

<sup>1</sup> *The Schools of Mediæval England*, p. 2; 1915. A. F. Leach.

century.”<sup>1</sup> Instruction in the Latin tongue was therefore the necessary precursor to participation in the new religious ceremonies. Thus the erection of Christian churches brought of necessity in its wake the institution of grammar schools. This alliance between Christianity and Education is exemplified in the Lucius legend. We are told that when King Lucius sent his ambassadors Alban and Medwy to Rome and they had embraced the catholic faith, the former was ordained a Bishop and the latter a Teacher—“Eluanum in Episcopum, Meduunum in Doctorem.”<sup>2</sup>

The first of these grammar schools to be established in Wales was attached to the Church founded by St. Illtud at Llantwit Major at the close of the fifth century. Illtud was the son of “Bicanus,” a celebrated Armorican soldier, and “Rieingulid,” who hailed from South Wales. His parents desired that he should enter the Church, consequently he was sent to a Christian school in Gaul, where he was instructed in the seven arts, “in septem disciplinis.”<sup>3</sup> Now this is no exaggeration of an eleventh century writer, because Gregory of Tours (sixth century) allowed his theological students to pass through the seven arts, “septem disciplinis erudiit,” and to write poetry.<sup>4</sup> Abandoning his parents’ wish, he followed the profession of arms like his father, although there was no one throughout the whole of Gaul more eloquent than he in reciting philosophy “nullus eloquentior per totam Galliam Illtuto milite recitante philosophicam eloquentiam.”<sup>5</sup> He journeyed to Wales and attached himself to the court of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, p. 86; 1915. F. Haverfield.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Landavensis*, p. 65; 1840. (W. J. Rees.)

<sup>3</sup> *Vita Sancti Illuti. Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, p. 159; 1853. (W. J. Rees.)

<sup>4</sup> *Schools of Gaul*, p. 189; 1920. T. Haarhoff.

<sup>5</sup> *Vita S. Illuti*, p. 159; 1853.

ruler of Glamorgan.<sup>1</sup> But though a soldier he was religiously inclined, for the precepts of the gospel were in his bosom,—“*evangelica precepta reposita erant in militis pectore.*”<sup>2</sup> Eventually he renounced the world and assumed the clerical habit. After his ordination by Bishop Dubricius, he built a church of stone at Llantwit Major and therein instituted his School. The main object of this School was the training of young men, usually of noble blood, for the Church. Thus the scholars were clerks and not monks, and the seminary in no way resembled a monastery, with the exception of the communal life and the strict rigour of their discipline. Reference has been made above to the denomination of a church by the word monastery. This statement is supported by various documents where Illtud’s Church is termed “*monasterium.*” But the author of Sansom’s *Vita* is explicit on this point. He says that this *monasterium* of Illtud was situated near an *insula* founded by Piro, “*non longe ab hoc monasterio.*”<sup>3</sup> The terms *insula* and *monasterium* in this statement clearly refer to two different kinds of establishments. By the former purely monastic monasteries were denominated, by the latter clerical establishments. Hugh Williams, in his article, entitled “The Christian Church in Wales,” declares that “from the terms in which Illtud is spoken of, I gather that previous to his time, the character of the life under the monastic roof was almost solely one of seclusion, for the discipline of self-denial, for prayer and meditation, in a common life of obedience to a superior—the abbot.” These principles were the aim of monachism. They were never modified but remained

<sup>1</sup> It was probably the connection between his mother and South Wales that led Illtud to Glamorgan.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita S. Illuti*, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> (a) *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1893—4: p. 113.

(b) *History of Wales*, i. 144, Fn. 100; 1912. J. E. Lloyd.

immutable down to the dissolution. Continuing, he says, "When we come to Illtud, another order seems to begin. With him the monastery becomes a school."<sup>1</sup> But Illtud's School was not the product of monasticism, but the outcome of renewed activity within the Roman Catholic Church itself to stem the tide of monkery. Throughout the *Vita* his scholars are distinctly called "clergy" or "brethren," but not once are they termed "monks."

During the sixth century the School enjoyed a considerable reputation. To it a large number of Welsh saints of this period owed their education. Instruction was given in secular and divine learning—Latin, Geometry, Music, for chanting purposes, Arithmetic, i.e., the art of reckoning, for calculating the calendar, the Old and New Testaments, and the Fathers. The "Magister Walliæ" was quite equal to the task for he was of all the Britons and of all the Gauls "best skilled in Holy Scriptures, both the Old Testament and the New, as well as in every kind of learning, such as Geometry, Rhetoric, Grammar, Arithmetic, and the knowledge of all arts". The direction of the School, however, was only one of the many activities of Illtud and it must not cloud the vision of his broader fields of labour. He was first and foremost a priest in a populous district. He preached to his people, moved among them, assisted the poor and needy not only with words of sympathy but with gifts of food and clothing. He visited the sick and carried the "light" even to the dark prison—"pascit egenos, vescit nudos, visitat infirmos, et positos in carceres."<sup>2</sup>

The thoroughness with which the studies were pursued under Illtud is revealed in the accomplishments of his pupils. Foremost among these was Gildas—"Britannus

<sup>1</sup> *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1893—4; pp. 107 and 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Sancti Illuti*, p. 168; 1853. W. J. Rees.

egregius scolasticus et scriptor optimus,"<sup>1</sup>—who was born *circa* A.D. 500<sup>2</sup> and died *circa* 570. He was the son of "Caunus," a prince who ruled over "Arecluta," the region now identified "to the south of the Clyde between Greenock and Glasgow."<sup>3</sup> He entered Illtud's School and became a clerk. But the reason for a journey of such extreme duration to attend school does not easily admit of explanation, unless the occurrence took place after the expulsion of his father from his principality by hostile incursions and the subsequent removal of his family to Wales. Professor Lloyd is rather sceptical concerning Gildas' princely parentage.<sup>4</sup> In accepting the view that Gildas was not of royal blood then his presence in South Wales must be attributed solely to the fame of Illtud as a schoolmaster. The pre-eminence of the latter is reflected in a passage written by Gildas, wherein his teacher's name is omitted, presumably "from a feeling of reverence on the part of the writer," but is styled "paene totius Britanniae magistrum elegantem."<sup>5</sup> After the completion of his studies Gildas became an itinerant priest and later (*circa* A.D. 550) wrote the work by which he is known "*De Excidio Britanniae*." This work, written by a cleric, is the most accurate picture extant of the sixth century Church in Wales. Examined from the standpoint of the educationist, it reveals the intimate acquaintanceship of the author with the Latin language, for his vocabulary is extensive and the intricacies of the Latin syntax present no difficulty. In fact his mastery over the Latin language

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Sancti Cadoci, Lives C.B.S.*, p. 59; 1853. W. J. Rees.

<sup>2</sup> The year of the Battle of Badon Hill. In this year Gildas, so he tells us himself, was born "annus . . . . . et meae nativitatis est". C. 26. *De Exc. Brit.*

<sup>3</sup> *History of Wales*, i, 136; 1912. J. E. Lloyd. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> *De Excidio Britanniae*, C. 36. *Gildas*, i, *Cymmrodorion Record Series*; 1899.

is so complete that he refers to it as “*nostra lingua*” and to the Romans as “*cives*”. He is familiar with the Latin poets—Vergil, Juvenal, Perseus or Martial and Claudian<sup>1</sup>—while his knowledge of Vergil is so marked that it could not have been derived from grammars but from a direct study of the author himself. We may infer with justice, then, that Vergil was read. But scriptural study far overshadowed the other subjects in the curriculum of a sixth century Christian school, and this predominance is revealed by the author’s very prevalent use of quotation from the Old and New Testaments; although it was the harshness of the Old rather than the gentleness of the New that appealed to the temperament of Gildas. Professor Lloyd, dealing with Gildas’ education, maintains that “the literary culture of Rome, ere it faded from Britain, cast over the young Gildas a spell which bound him firmly to the end.”<sup>2</sup> This statement requires modification. The literary culture which Gildas enjoyed did not come directly from Rome but by way of Gaul. Moreover, this Roman-Gallic culture never disappeared, but was handed down through the Middle Ages by the church schools, of which Llantwit was among the forerunners.

A fellow student of Gildas, but perhaps a little younger, was Samson, who, though not of royal blood, was a son of noble parents.<sup>3</sup> At an early age the youth displayed marked intelligence, to the astonishment of the clergy, “*clerus*,”<sup>4</sup> and people, who foresaw in him a noble son of the Church. But the father (Amon), apparently,<sup>5</sup> had formed other plans for his son’s future. These, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica Minora*, Intro. p. 6; 1898. Mommsen.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Wales*, i, 137.

<sup>3</sup> His father, Amon, was a man of Dyfed and his mother, Anna, was a native of Gwent.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Sancti Samsonis*, *Lib. Iand.* p. 10; 1840. W. J. Rees.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.



were frustrated by a terrifying vision which appeared to him while asleep. Consequently, at the age of five, “*cum esset annorum quinque*,”<sup>1</sup> his parents entrusted him to Illtud’s care that he might be trained in his School for a position in the Church. Here his progress was rapid. He excelled his colleagues in Grammar and Literature, “*ad studium litterarum*,” and soon advanced from the grade of scholar, “*discipulus*,” to that of teacher “*magister*.”<sup>2</sup> He was warmly attached to Illtud, his “*doctorem karissimum*,” whom he assisted more frequently in the performance of the church service than any of the other scholars<sup>3</sup> Eventually the master, realising that his pupil surpassed him in learning, secured his ordination as deacon and afterwards priest. On account of his pre-eminence in piety, devotion and scholarship, Samson was naturally designated successor to Illtud as head of the Church and School. But the jealousy of one of Illtud’s nephews, the clergyman, “*sacerdos*”, who also fostered aspirations to that distinction, caused Samson, in disgust probably, to betake himself to the monastery of Piro. A life of ease and contemplation, however, was not amenable to one who was alive to the needs and miseries of his countrymen. After remaining one and a half years, he left the monastery and became an evangelist, wandering from place to place and preaching to the people in their native tongue. After his ordination he appears to have left Wales for Brittany, where he died.

Llantwit Major continued to be an important seat of learning throughout the sixth and seventh centuries. From this point its decline is apparent and can be attributed to the development of the more important Schools attached to the Churches of St. David’s and Llandaff. It

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Sancti Samsonis, Lib. Land.*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

is quite possible that the School existed down to the twelfth century, when the Church of Llantwit Major was granted to Tewkesbury Abbey, and thus came to an end.

A Church with a similar School, contemporary with Illtud's, was built by Bishop Dubricius at "Henllan" on the banks of the Wye. This clerical schoolmaster was another saint of noble birth, being the grandson of King Pebiau, who ruled over "Ergyng," the region corresponding roughly to modern Herefordshire. As a youth he was sent to a grammar school, "ad studium literarum,"<sup>1</sup> where he soon distinguished himself as a scholar and teacher. Unfortunately no mention is made of the name of this School, but it had endowed him with a liberal education, for his knowledge comprised both modern and ancient law, "utriusque legis novae et veteris peritia."<sup>2</sup> To his School at "Henllan" came not only the uninstructed, "sed etiam viri sapientes (scholars) et doctores (teachers),"<sup>3</sup> who received instruction in secular and divine studies, "in studio litterarum divinæ sapientiæ et humanæ."<sup>4</sup> At a later date the School was removed to "Mochros," no great distance away. Here Dubricius continued his work, a replica of that of Illtud, by controlling the School "regendo studium," teaching the clerks "docens clerum," and preaching to the people.<sup>5</sup> Among these clerks was Saint Teilo, who had been a pupil at the School from his youth. The realization that Teilo, his favourite pupil, surpassed him in learning and ability, "doctrina et ingenio,"<sup>6</sup> engendered a desire in Dubricius, his teacher, "praeceptor",

<sup>1</sup> *Lectiones de Vita Sancti Dubricii*, *Lib. Land.*, p. 76; 1840. W. J. Rees.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76 and 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76 and 77.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76 and 77.

<sup>6</sup> *De Vita Sancti Teliui*, *Lib. Land.* p. 93; 1840. W. J. Rees.

to acquire the succession in the mastership, "in magisterio", for him. But the fame of another teacher had reached the ears of this modest and zealous scholar. This teacher was Bishop Paulinus, who had built his Church with its School somewhere in Menevia. That the site was at "Ty Gwyn ar Dâf" (Whitland) appears to be "pure conjecture, resting on no ancient authority."<sup>1</sup> However, the establishment of a school by Paulinus, of a more advanced type conceivably than that of Dubricius, admits of no conjecture. Here Teilo had David, the patron saint of Wales, as a fellow clerk.

David was the son of Sanctus, King of Ceredigion, and Non. He was born *circa* A.D. 520 "at the spot on the north shore of St. Bride's Bay, now marked by St. Nonn's Chapel."<sup>2</sup> The youthful hero spent his earliest years at Henfynyw (Old Menevia), Cardiganshire, where he was instructed by his uncle Bishop "Guistilianus," who resided there. Here according to Rhygyvarch, his biographer,<sup>3</sup> he received his primary instruction, "rudimentum", in the Latin tongue, which was followed by the memorising of those parts of the scriptures which dealt directly with the services of the Church—"psalmos, lectiones totius anni, et missas, et sinaxin"—written in this language. This "rudimentum" therefore included Reading, an important subject on account of the "lectores" who read the lessons in church; Music, for chanting purposes, and Arithmetic, i.e., the art of reckoning, usually done by the fingers, for calculating the movable dates of the calendar. After this preliminary training David went to the School of Paulinus, who is termed *scriba*. This word is evidently used in a distinctive sense

<sup>1</sup> *History of Wales*, i, 151; 1912. J. E. Lloyd.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita Sancti David, Cymmrodorion Transactions*, Vol. xxiv; 1913

and imputes more than the character of a scribe to the Bishop. Not one of the other clerical schoolmasters (excluding his pupil David) of the sixth century is given this title. Moreover, the fact that Teilo, on completion of his studies under Dubricius, entered the School of Paulinus is an added indication that the latter was a teacher of distinguished scholarship. In this School, David was instructed in the three branches of study until he, too, became a scribe, "in tribus partibus lectionis donec fuit scriba."<sup>1</sup> Although Rhygyvarch had in mind the Trivium (Grammar, Dialectic and Rhetoric) of his own day<sup>2</sup> when he penned these words, he was still very near the truth, for Dialectic and Rhetoric—modified in the direction of simplicity as compared with the pagan idea<sup>3</sup>—were actually taught in the sixth century Christian schools. Both studies were an essential part of education because of the controversial nature of Christianity and the importance of preaching. An addition should be made to include the study of the Scriptures and the Fathers. On the completion of these studies, extending over a period of many years, David, in accordance with the custom of scholars of the age, became an evangelist "so that he, being appointed thereto, might by amassing sheaves of souls for the heavenly barns of eternal blessedness bring them into the joy of the Lord."<sup>4</sup> His teaching varied according to the spiritual need of his hearers. He administered the strong meat of life to those advanced in the faith, and to the weak the milk of pious exhortation. Some he confined within the barriers of a monastic cloister; "quosdam intra cenobialis claustris septa coartans"<sup>5</sup> (note the

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Sancti David*, § 10.

<sup>2</sup> Rhygyvarch was born in 1057 and died in 1099.

<sup>3</sup> *Schools of Gaul*, p. 169; 1920. T. Haarhoff.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Sancti David*, § 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Vita Sancti David* § 12.

absolute seclusion from the world implied in these words),<sup>1</sup> others whose sphere of life was broader he admonished with various kinds of instruction. Subsequently, David returned to Hoddnant in Menevia, and here with his disciples built a Church with its School and, probably, a monastery. Rhygyvarch describes the whole building as an eminent monastery "insigne monasterium"<sup>2</sup> and proceeds to give a very clear picture of the austere life of its inmates. But evidently this portion of his narrative has reference to the building which David had erected solely for those converts whom he advised to assume the monastic habit. Half a century later St. Augustine made precisely the same arrangement when he settled the monks in the monastery of St. Paul (afterwards known by the founder's own name) outside the walls of Canterbury.<sup>3</sup> This addition of the monastery to the Church or its establishment within close proximity yet distinctive in character, will be explanatory of the references to monachism contained in the *Vita*, e.g., that David was "a rule to the monks"<sup>4</sup> and "the clamour of the monks"<sup>5</sup> at his death.<sup>6</sup> David, however, is never once styled abbot. His life was not the life of a monk in a cloister, but that of a bishop with his clerks, who preached and taught as well as prayed and sang the services. He was a pattern for all; he was consecration, benediction, absolution and correction; he was learning to scholars, life to the needy,

<sup>1</sup> This absolute seclusion from the world in order to save one's soul was the key-note of monasticism. David from the time he left the School of Paulinus to the day of his death, continually moved and worked among his people.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Sancti David*, § 20.

<sup>3</sup> *The School of Mediæval England*, p. 34; 1915. A. F. Leach.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Sancti David*, § 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, § 64.

<sup>6</sup> How long this arrangement continued is difficult to say but there is no recorded instance of monks at St. David's after the sixth century.

nourishment to orphans, support to widows, head to the country, rule to the monks, a way to seculars and all things to all men.<sup>1</sup> His activities were not confined to the immediate neighbourhood of his Church, for one of his old pupils (Barre) had occasion to borrow the horse on which he was accustomed to ride in the administration of his ecclesiastical duties.<sup>2</sup> At the two synods (Llanddewi Brefi and Lucus Victoriae circa A.D. 569) of the Welsh bishops, David played a conspicuous part. As a result of these conferences, decrees were drawn up and penned in his own hand, and in accordance with these ordinances the Church in Wales took its method and rule by Roman authority, “modum et regulam Romana auctoritate.”<sup>3</sup>

The pupils of David's School are never denominated monks, but disciples or brethren. He taught the School in person, as may be inferred from incidents in his *Vita*. On one occasion the pupil Aeddán, perusing out of doors from a book the lesson he had just been taught, is sent on an errand. He obeys immediately, leaving the book open in an exposed spot. During his absence a heavy shower of rain fell, but on his return he finds the book still open but uninjured by the rain, for it had been preserved by the grace of the master for his obedient pupil.<sup>4</sup> On the day of David's death, his disciples in tears declare “By whom shall we be taught?” These pupils, like those of Illtud and Dubricius, on the completion of their instructional course, left the School and became founders of churches. Aeddán, Brendan, Barre and Modomnoc went to Ireland and became founders of churches there. Here, then, was the beginning of the Cathedral Grammar School of St. David's which continued, except for occasional interruptions, down to the nineteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Sancti David*, § 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, § 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, § 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, § 35.



The friendship between David and Teilo is a marked feature of some of these early records. They quitted the School of Paulinus about the same time and became itinerant preachers. David appears to have wandered eastwards whereas Teilo evangelised in South Wales, and this latter fact accounts for the number of Teilo churches in what are now the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Brecon. But after David's decision to return to Menevia, he (David) apparently consulted his old fellow student, for they are brought together once more and become co-workers in the establishment of the Church at St. David's. On completion of this task Teilo, armed with the experience thus gained, proceeded to found a similar Church and School of his own at Llandaff, and became its first Bishop. Here he laboured till his death with the exception of the period when the Yellow Plague, which ravaged Wales in one or more years between 540 and 550 A.D., compelled him to sojourn in Brittany. On his return he brought with him many teachers, "multis doctoribus,"<sup>1</sup> doubtless to take the place of those who had succumbed to the pestilence. The old pupils of Dubricius—Lunapeius, Gwrmaer, Cymur, Llywel, Fidelis, Ismael, Tyfei, Oudoceus—and many others flocked to the new Grammar School. The latter gradually eclipsed the School at "Mochros," and at a later period that at Llantwit, for after the seventh century both cease to be places of educational importance, whereas the Llandaff School lived on till practically modern times, excepting those periods when the Church was devastated by war.

The School is mentioned incidentally in the narrative regarding a certain "Cynwain" and his wife. Stripped of the miraculous, Teilo becomes the guardian of the sons of these very poor parents and they are educated by him in the

<sup>1</sup> *De Vita Sancti Teliui, Lib. Land.*, p. 107 ; 1840. W. J. Rees.

Grammar School, "studium literarum."<sup>1</sup> When Teilo's scholar-clerks became proficient he consecrated and sent them throughout South Wales, apportioning parishes to them to suit the convenience of the clergy and the people, "dividensque parochias sibi, ad opportunitatem cleri et populi."<sup>2</sup> Throughout his *Vita* there is absolutely no trace of monachism and no reference to it in any form. Only once in the "Privilegium," and that in the last, is the building called an archmonastery. In all the other passages it is termed "the Church of Llandaff" and its officers "clergy." Like the other teachers already mentioned, Teilo is never called abbot but always bishop. His zealous labours, aided by his clergy, among the people bore such fruit that his Church increased in churches and territories, "in ecclesiis et territoriis,"<sup>3</sup> which were given to it.

Two more names must be added to the sixth century list of Schoolmasters in Wales, namely, Padarn and Cadog. Unfortunately two saints at least bear the name of the former and three of the latter, and post-conquest writers have confused their acts. Consequently the *Vitae* of these two saints, particularly that of Cadog, abound in discrepancies and anachronisms, rendering the task of gleaning authentic information very difficult.

Padarn, like Illtud, was an Armorican. He was born of noble and Christian parents and was educated probably in one of the Christian schools of Gaul. He came to Wales in the time of Maelgwyn Gwynedd (d. circa A.D. 547), erected a Church with the usual School at Llanbadarn, near Aberystwyth, and appointed a provost and dean over it, "edificavit templum . . . et preposito et decano statuit."<sup>4</sup> Following David's example probably, he also

<sup>1</sup> *De Vita Sancti Teliaui*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Sancti Paterni, Lives of the C.B.S.*, p. 190; 1853. W. J. Rees.

built a monastery, over which he appointed a steward, "monasterium sub economo."<sup>1</sup> His scholars are called brethren and disciples. These, after the requisite instruction, he placed in charge of the churches which he built in Ceredigion, so that Padarn became a lamp in learning and deed throughout Britain, "Paternus lampas in doctrina et opere effectus est per totam Britanniam."<sup>2</sup>

Cadog was the son of King Gwynllyw and Gwladys, the grand-daughter of the "regulus" Brychan. He had an excellent education which was distinctly secular and could not have been given either by a monk or in a monastery. At the age of seven he entered the School of the priest, Meuthi, who diligently instructed him in the Latin Grammars of both Donatus and Priscian, and other arts, for twelve years, "studiosius illum Donato Priscianoque nec non aliis artibus, per annos duodecim diligentius instruxit."<sup>3</sup> Three more years were spent in Ireland for further instruction in the seven liberal arts. A further period under a distinguished rhetorician named Bachan,<sup>4</sup> because Cadog wished to be taught Latin after the Roman method, "Romano more," completed his course of studies. He built his Church at Llancarvan, between five and ten miles from that of Illtud, and taught the School. The miracle regarding his two pupils Finian and Macmoil, and their book unsoiled by the rain may be presumed to have been taken from Rhygyvarch's *Vita* of St. David. Cadog is termed the "Wise," and a large number of aphorisms and proverbs attributed to him are extant.<sup>5</sup> Although the greater part of these writings are of a much later date,

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Sancti Paterni, Lives of the C.B.S.*, p. 190; 1853. W. J. Rees.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita Sancti Cadoci, Lives of the C.B.S.*, p. 28; 1853.

<sup>4</sup> Bachan had come to Wales from Italy and had settled in the Usk Valley.

<sup>5</sup> *The Myrhyrian Archaeology of Wales*, pp. 754—811; 1870.

nevertheless he enjoyed such a reputation for wisdom that it must have been customary to attribute to him the wise sayings of authors unknown. These sayings consist of moral maxims chiefly in the form of proverbs, and triads in both prose and verse, and, as is naturally to be expected, are intensely Christian and remarkably free from all traces of monasticism. Sixteen churches are said to have been founded by him in Glamorgan, Monmouthshire and Brecknockshire, and five of these still bear his name. Before his departure from Llancarvan, Cadog appointed the pupil Elli to be ruler and teacher, “rectorem atque doctorem”,<sup>1</sup> as his successor. The School must have existed down to the eleventh century, since the *Vita* of Cadog was written *circa* A.D. 1073 by one Lifric, who was then Schoolmaster, “magister”, of Llancarvan, and probably came to an end in the following century when Robert FitzHamon gave the Church to St. Peter’s at Gloucester.

A feature that attracts one’s attention regarding these early Welsh saints is that they were invariably men of the best blood. The nobility practically monopolised the bishoprics which they deemed their own property, and to be maintained in their own families. We saw an illustration of this when Samson, though designated Illtud’s successor, withdrew from Llantwit to give way to the bishop’s nephew. Mr. Haarhoff, however, declares that the Christians not only consented to this arrangement but sometimes demanded it “feeling, no doubt, the value of having a man of high social rank to protect them in the political world . . . . Thus aristocratic ideas were introduced into the Church and the bishop’s office was sometimes made hereditary.”<sup>2</sup>

In computing the size of these Schools, the extraordi-

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Sancti Cadoci*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Schools of Gaul*, p. 156; 1920. T. Haarhoff.

nary numbers given by the mediæval scribes should be discarded. They are usually extravagant when dealing with figures. Mighty hosts clash in battle, and the slain are reckoned in thousands. Their attempts to assign the date of birth or death of a leading figure are equally extravagant. A school of one, not to mention two, thousand pupils was unheard of in early times, and is really a modern idea. To designate Illtud's School as a university or a college is also misleading, as these terms imply their modern connotation which is vastly different from that of a mediæval grammar school. The accommodation of the buildings alone should serve to give an indication of the number of pupils because teaching was usually conducted indoors.<sup>1</sup> At most, then, the number could never have exceeded fifty. Illtud's *Vita* gives a direct hint where it declares that "constituit quinquaginta canonicos qui congruis temporibus, et statutis horis visitabant ecclesiam, habentes singulariter suas prebendas." To teach even fifty scholars must have been a difficult task for our earliest Schoolmasters. But they appear to have got over the difficulty by adopting what in practically modern times became known as the "Monitorial System," for they were assisted by their more advanced pupils. We are told for example that Samson, having passed through the various grades of scholarship, became a teacher in Illtud's School, while Dubricius had distinguished himself not only as a scholar but also as a teacher in his old school, before he built his Church at "Henllan."

Strong corroboration of the foregoing facts, culled from the various *Vitae*, is to be found in a study of "De Excidio Britanniae"—a work written *circa* 550 A.D. by Gildas, who was a product of Illtud's School at Llantwit. Gildas was, first and foremost, a reformer, whose efforts

<sup>1</sup> See p. 100 for account of David's pupil, Aeddan, and open book.

were concentrated upon the reformation of the existing Church. His methods bear a distinct resemblance to those of later Reformers, Wycliffe and Luther, inasmuch as his attacks upon the Roman Catholic Church were couched in the bitterest and the most exaggerated terms.<sup>1</sup>

In the first portion of his work, passionate appeals against the secular rulers constitute the theme; in the second, appeals of a similar nature are directed towards the ecclesiastical rulers. He calls the Church "our revered mother",—*venerabilis mater*,<sup>2</sup>—and her officers are bishops, presbyters and deacons. These rulers are the recognised teachers and guides of a Church, which has the fundamentals of a well-developed constitution. Each bishop holds the apostolic see,—*apostolicam sedem*<sup>3</sup>—because he is a successor of Peter,—*sedem Petri apostoli*,<sup>4</sup>—has his "*parochia*," and ministers to the wants of his people. Truly the Church represented by Gildas is one in possession of the customary episcopal constitution, though no mention is made of an individual bishop enjoying archiepiscopal jurisdiction. But the most striking feature of the work is the scant reference made to monasticism in the administration of Church life. His appeals are not directed to monks. Hence arises the inference that monks were extraneous to the established ecclesiastical regime.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, there is only one reference to an abbot (c.28) and one to monks (c.34). Both these references are

<sup>1</sup> Gildas himself remarks—"Posset quidem lenior fieri in crepatio" C. 108.      <sup>2</sup> C. 26.      <sup>3</sup> C. 92.      <sup>4</sup> C. 66.

<sup>5</sup> If, as it is maintained, the Church in Wales was established on a monastic basis—how and when were the larger monasteries transferred into cathedrals and the smaller into local churches? Willis Bund in his attempt to supply answers to these queries, declares—"the difficult question is to account for the disappearance of such houses as Llanearvan and Llanilltud". But these churches did not disappear. The Church of Llanearvan was given by Robert Fitz-Hamon to St. Peter's at Gloucester in the 12th century, and the



slender and of little intrinsic value, though written a hundred years after the introduction of monachism into Britain.<sup>1</sup> In view of these facts, it is highly improbable that Gildas was a monk, for he was confined to no monastery, but mixed "in the battle of public life." Yet Dr. Hugh Williams and Professor Lloyd support the contrary view, basing their claim on the discovery of "an apologetic allusion to monasticism in words that half disguise their true meaning." This very statement reveals the paucity of their evidence. The two chief extracts in their references are :—

- (a) "exceptis paucis et valde paucis, qui ob amissionem tantae multitudinis, quae cotidie prona ruit ad tartara, tam brevis numerus habentur, ut eos quodammodo venerabilis mater ecclesia in suo sinu recumbentes non videat, quos solos veros filios habet. Quorum ne quis me egregiam vitam omnibus admirabilem Deoque amabilem carpere putet, quibus nostra infirmitas in sacris orationibus ut non penitus conlabatur, quasi columnis quibusdam ac fulcris saluberrimis sustentatur". (c. 26)
- (b) "Sed mihi quaeso, utiam in superioribus dixi, ab his veniam impetiri, quorum vitam non solum laudo, verum etiam cunctis mundi opibus praefero, cuiusque me, si fieri possit, ante mortis diem esse aliquamdiu participem opto et sitio". (c. 65)

More feasible appears the view that these extracts point to that little band of Revivalists—intimate friends and schoolmates of Gildas—in South Wales, a remote part of Britain. His own words lend corroborative proof, for he makes mention of their support by prayers, his expectation of the day when his wanderings would cease and the establishment of his own church, wherein would lie

Church of Llanilltud to Tewkesbury in the same century. This writer makes an interesting assertion and one which goes some way to prove the thesis advanced in this essay, when he says that—"In Wales, none of the Latin Monasteries developed into a cathedral, the cathedrals were all the survivors of Celtic monasteries. (?) " *The Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 205; 1897. Willis Bund.

<sup>1</sup> *Christianity in Early Britain*, p. 78; 1912. Hugh Williams.

the field of his labours till death. Commenting upon the above passages, Dr. Hugh Williams is compelled to admit that "the freshness of these words, the utter absence of the conventional language of monasticism, is impressive."

The distinction thus held by South Wales as the nursery of the Church and as the home of learning in Wales during the sixth century, is further exemplified by Bede's account of Augustine's efforts to secure the assistance of the Welsh clergy to convert the Anglo-Saxons. At the outset, Augustine realised the enormity of the task which Gregory had imposed upon him, for he actually turned back when he first set out on his mission.<sup>1</sup> When he had gained a footing in Kent, he requested further help from the Pope, who sent him among others Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus.<sup>2</sup> Still dissatisfied with the resources at his command, Augustine arranged a conference with the Welsh clergy with the object of securing their co-operation and at the same time, by papal authority, of asserting the supremacy of Canterbury over the Church in Wales. But the latter, during its period of isolation, had developed certain peculiarities which were not in keeping with the Catholic Church. (Fundamentally her orthodoxy was unimpaired, otherwise Augustine would never have sought her help.) However, the Archbishop was prepared to tolerate them all excepting two—the time of holding Easter, and the adoption of the Roman form of Baptism—providing the Welsh clergy would promise to undertake "the common task of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles." The native ecclesiastics, as might have been anticipated, clung tenaciously to their old customs, for abandonment signified their assent to the conversion, with their aid, of their bitterest foes, and

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Bk. i, c. 23. (1896, Edited. by C. Plummer.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. i, c. 29.

to submission to an authority other than Rome. Bede describes the conference, which occurred A.D. 602-603, thus :—

“Interea Augustinus, adjutorio usus Ædilberti Regis, convocavit ad suum colloquium episcopos, sive Doctores, proximos provincie Britonum, in loco qui usque hodie<sup>1</sup> lingua Anglorum Augustinæ Ac, idest robur Augustini, in confinio Huicciorum et Occidentalium Saxonum appellatur”.<sup>2</sup>

(In the meantime Augustine, with the assistance of King Ethelbert, drew together to a conference the bishops or Teachers of the nearest province of the Britons, at a place which is to this day called Augustine's Oak, on the borders of the Wiccii and West Saxons.)

This province of the Britons nearest to Kent, the centre of Augustine's operations, would be the region now comprising Monmouth, Brecon and Glamorgan, and, be it noted, the region where most of the Welsh churches and schools had been established in the preceding century. The meeting-place has been located in the parish of Cromhall, which lies between the Avon and the Severn.<sup>3</sup> We may be certain then that the representatives of the Church in Wales who met Augustine were some of the bishop-teachers and their scholars of Llantwit, Llancarvan, Llandaff, and Mochros. When these had listened to the prelate's demands, they requested an adjournment that more of their brethren might be present. This postponement was probably put forward in order that all the bishop-teachers and scholars, including those of the more distant schools, St. David's, Llanbadarn, and even far-distant Bangor,<sup>4</sup> might have an opportunity of attending.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 700—35.

<sup>2</sup> Bede's *Eccles. History*, Bk. ii, c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, Vol. ix, Pt. i.

<sup>4</sup> The Church of Bangor is said to have been founded by Daniel who became its first bishop. He died *circa* A.D. 584.

But to this second conference there came not only “seven bishops of the Britons” but also “many most learned men, particularly from their most noble monastery, which, in the English tongue is called Bancornburg.”<sup>1</sup> With regard to the “seven bishops” we have already suggested the heads of the ecclesiastical establishments of Llantwit, Llandcarvan, Llandaff, Mochros, St. David’s, Llanbadarn, and Bangor. The remainder of the extract must be read with caution. Bede was primarily a theologian imbued with the doctrine of the visitation of sin, and subordnately a historian collating and verifying evidence. His aim in recording the conference, if one may rightly judge the complete narrative, was to point to “the dispensation of the Divine judgment,” consequent upon the rejection of Augustine’s proposals and his (Augustine’s) prophecy that the Welsh clergy would be the victims of the heathen English rage. About ten years later (*circa* 614), a battle was waged by Æthelfrith against the Welsh somewhere<sup>2</sup> on the borders of Wales, in which about twelve hundred priests from the monastery of “Bancornburg” were slain. Bede must connect the two events. Consequently, we find it stated that the abbot and priests of this monastery attended the second conference. Indeed, it may be questioned whether a second conference really took place, but was introduced into the narrative in order to give it an appearance of historical truth and also that Bede might conclude his moral lesson with a grand rhetorical flourish — “Thus was fulfilled the prediction of the holy Bishop Augustine, though he himself had been long before taken

<sup>1</sup> Bede’s *Eccles. History*, Bk. ii, c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Lloyd declares the battle was fought near Chester (*History of Wales*, i, 179; 1912); J. James, M.A. at Caerleon (*Transactions Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, Vol. ix, p. i), but Prof. Haverfield in the *English Historical Review* (July, 1896) says that it did not take place at Caerleon but probably at Lincoln.

up into the heavenly kingdom ; that those perfidious men should feel the vengeance of the temporal death also, because they had despised the offer of eternal salvation.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bede's *Eccles. History*, Bk. ii. c. 2.

# Adam Usk's Epitaph.

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THE inscribed brass in Usk Church, although it contains the name of "Adam vske" in plain letters, was not until 1885 guessed to be the epitaph of the (now) well-known chronicler; of course, the authors of the early attempts at interpreting it had never heard of the egregious old Adam. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, in the introduction to his second (the first complete) edition of *Chronicon Adæ de Usk*, 1904, p. xxxi, observes that "This brass has been for generations a puzzle to antiquaries and philologists". He proceeds to give a brief account of the attempted solutions:

In 1773, a notice of it, accompanied by a very imperfect facsimile, appeared in *Archaeologia*, vol. ij, in a paper on the Julia Strata communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by the Reverend William Harris, who quotes an interpretation by Dr. Wotton which discovers in the inscription the epitaph of a certain Solomon the Astrologer connected with a school of philosophers well skilled in astronomy and all other sciences and established at Caerleon ar Wysk before the coming of the Saxons. Knowing our Adam as well as we do, this solution of the riddle is irresistibly ludicrous. Gough, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1789), vol. ij. p. 487, repeats *Archaeologia*. In 1801 Coxe, in his *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, p. 418, gave a better facsimile and quoted previous interpretations, also adding others. Next, the Cambrian Archaeological Association turned its attention to the brass and printed further observations in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. ij. (1847) p. 34; and finally, in 1885, it was again before the Association (*Arch. Cambr.*, 5th series; vol. ij. p. 344), when Canon (now Archdeacon) Thomas claimed it as the epitaph of our chronicler.

The only "previous interpretation" quoted by Coxe,



loc. cit., is that of Dr. Wotton, whose name he spells with oo. "Dr. Wootton," he says, "was the first person who gave an explanation of this inscription, which he considered as a mixture of Welsh and Latin, and an epitaph on a professor of astronomy, and chief of a college of two hundred philosophers, established at Caerleon before the arrival of the Saxons." The method by which this extraordinary conclusion is reached will be sufficiently indicated by quoting the first line of the Dr.'s reading and rendering :

Nole clodde yr Ethrod Caerlleon . . . . .

"Noli effodere Professorem (Scientiarum) Caerlegionensem . . .".

"Don't dig up the Professor" seems scarcely a necessary injunction,<sup>1</sup> or a very respectful substitute for the usual "here lieth".

This interpretation, as Coxe notes, was adopted by Theophilus Evans in his famous *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*; it appears in the prefatory "At y Darllenydd" in the second edition, 1740 (S. J. Evans, reprint, Bangor, 1902, p. 9a), and is reproduced in the numerous later editions :

*Ac yn wir yr oeddid yn cymmysen y ddwy Iaith ynghyd yn rhy arw yn yr hen amser hennw, megis y tystia y Sgrifen-fedd a gafwyd yn ddiweddar yn Eglwys Bryn-biga<sup>2</sup> yng ngwlad Fynwy, yr hon a osodwyd yno gyntaf ym mhell cyn Dyfodiad y Saeson i'r Deyrnas hon.—Y Sgrifen yw hon, cymmyse o Gymraeg a Lladin—Noli cloddi yr Ellrhod Caerlleon . . . . .—A hyn yw'r ystyr (yn ol Barn y dyscedig) yn Lladin llawn.—Noli effodere Professorem Caerlegionensem . . . . .*

Thus Adam Usk's epitaph, hopelessly misread and misunderstood, is quoted to prove that more than a thousand years before it was engraved a mixed jargon of Welsh

<sup>1</sup> Nid aur wyt ti, O yufyd, fel y'th gladdant

I gloddio amdanat eilwaith dan y gŵys.—*Omar Khayyám*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bryn-buga* is the Welsh name of Usk. A writer in the *Cambrian Register*, ii (1796), pub. 1799, p. 462, speaking of Usk says, "*Brynbiga* is still the only name by which a Welshman knows this town".

and Latin was used by the Ancient Britons. In the popular pages of the *Drych* Wotton's grotesque jumble must have aroused the mild curiosity of a large number of Welsh readers, many of whom doubtless accepted it as a conclusive proof of the hypothesis of the uncritical Theophilus. I remember as a youth being mystified and amused by it, and wondering what the original inscription could really be. But I had forgotten the caricature when my attention was called to the original about a year ago, and in the actual fifteenth century epitaph I did not recognise the pre-Saxon puzzle of *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*.

The other interpretations added by Coxe are by the Rev. Mr. Evans, Vicar of St. Woolos, and Mr. Owen, afterwards known as Dr. Owen Pughe. The former examined the brass at Coxe's request, and gave a much more accurate reading than Wotton's. His transliteration and rendering of the first distich are as follows :

Yno le cloddai yr ethrodjar lleyn,  
Advocâd llawnhâd llundeyn.

"In that place was buried the teacher, Lord, learned,  
Advocate of full competency of London".

The rendering of the second line I believe to be substantially correct;<sup>1</sup> but the rest is, like that of the first line, rather poor guesswork. Evans, like Wotton, failed to recognise the name *adam*, which he took for *oddi am* 'around'.

Coxe had procured a rubbing of the inscription, from which the engraving which appears in his book had been made; he sent a copy of this to Mr. Owen [Pughe] together with the Rev. Mr. Evans's notes. The facsimile is a good one; and Pughe's reading of the actual letters is very

<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, Wotton also, though he takes *llawnhâd* as *llawnhaedd*, comes near giving a correct rendering of this line: "Advocatum dignissimum Londinensem".

nearly correct, though he divides the words according to his own whims. Of course, he disagrees entirely with Evans's interpretation, but politely attributes the difference to "the difficulty of ascertaining the true meaning of this piece of antiquity". His own explanation consists largely of alternative suggestions, of which the reader may take his choice. The first two lines will again serve as an example :

Nota clod yr ethrod yar lleyn  
Advo eud llawn hwde llundeyn.

"Mark this object of fame, to the disgrace of the blade :  
were he not covered London would be in difficulty".

If you are not satisfied with that, you are offered "another reading" and rendering in the footnotes :

Neut clâd yr athro dayar lleyn !  
Advo câd llawn hwde llundeyn.

"Ah ! behold the grave of the great teacher is the sod of the vale !  
When a battle took place London felt embarrassed".

Adam's name escaped him too ; he took *adam* to be an error for *a daiar*. In *breynt apile* in line 3 he saw a name "Braint ap Llydd", remarking in a footnote referring to *Braint*—"The meaning of this word is *privilege* ; but as it has been used for a proper name of men, I have taken it in that sense, otherwise no name occurs as the object of the inscription". But in spite of this another rendering gives *braint* as a common noun, and a footnote referring to lines 3 and 4 states that "These parts of the original are so obscured that it may be made anything else of the same length".

The second volume of the *Arch. Camb.*, 1847, contains three communications on the subject of the inscription. The first is by Thomas Wakeman, who insists that the second *l* is an *h* ; he did not know that in black letter the second limb of an *h* curves downwards below the line.

The first two words he accordingly read *Nolech ode* ; and, with a simple faith in the imaginary meaning of the imaginary root *no* given in Pughe's dictionary, he takes *nolech* to be a word for 'screen' ; he continues thus (p. 38):

'Nolech odde', (*this skreen's intention*,) is an appropriate beginning and affords a clue to a right understanding of what follows, 'Y reth rode y arlleyn' which may be 'Y raith roddan i arlleian' ; the verdict, or legal decision of the gifts to the superior nun, i.e. the prioress . . . . The next sentence appears to be introduced parenthetically, and I read it 'Advo cadw llaw'n hade llun deyn'—*Adfo cadw llawen haddef llun dain*. She (the prioress) will again keep a cheerful house of fair appearance. . . .

'Seliff sunnoier sinna se Adam Usk, e val Kuske.'

'*Seliff synwyr synna sy Adam Usk ei wâl cysgu*.

Lo! Adam is a Solomon in intellect and resides at Usk. Ei wâl cysgu,—*His resting place*, must, I think here be taken for his place of abode. Who this individual was, that decided the question in favour of the nuns, will be seen hereafter. . . . .

Thus Mr. Wakeman has found an Adam in the inscription—not Adam Usk though the name stared him in the face, but an Adam whose "sleeping bed" was Usk. He had come to the conclusion that the lettering belongs to the thirteenth century; he therefore decides that the individual was Adam ap Iorwerth ap Cradoc, who was living in the reign of Henry III.

The other two contributions are quite brief. The first, signed "R.", consists only of a transcription and a transliteration into normal orthography, with no translation. The second, signed "J. W.",<sup>1</sup> adopts R.'s transliteration with some emendations, and gives an English rendering. Neither of these contributors recognises an Adam in the inscription; the name becomes *A dan*, and

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Rev. J. Williams (*ab Ithel*), then of Nerquis, joint editor of the *Arch. Camb.* He had not then adopted his bardic name as a surname, see the same vol. p. 178.

line 6 is made to read *A dan Wysc ei wâl cysgu*, which J. W. renders "And under Usk is now his sleeping bed". *Ei wâl cysgu* is the brilliant suggestion of Pughe.

Accompanying these three notices is a fairly good, but much reduced, woodcut facsimile of the inscription; the block is reproduced in the volume for 1885 (V, ii, p. 344), in a report on the Association's visit to Usk. The report contains no discussion of the text, but records Canon D. R. Thomas's identification of the brass as the epitaph of Adam Usk. Adam's name, however, had already been detected independently in it some years previously: Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. xxxii, says that the Rev. C. H. Middleton-Wake, "when visiting Usk church not long after the first publication of the chronicle [1876], observed in the brass the name of 'Adam Yske', and rightly conjectured that it concerned our Adam". It may be well to mention here that his name was not "Adam de Usk", or "Adam of Usk" as he is now generally called, but simply "Adam Usk", *op. cit.*, p. xi.

Sir Edward, pp. xxxii ff., inserts a communication from the late Sir John Rhys consisting of a transcript of the inscription together with a transliteration into modern Welsh and a translation into English, with notes. Rhys understood the general character of the orthography, and transliterates more than half the words correctly; but he failed to recognise the metre, or to give a true rendering of any line. He was fully aware of the unsatisfactory nature of his attempted interpretation; he submits his transliteration and translation "with the utmost diffidence", and adds in a footnote at the end: "Since the above was set up in type I have had an opportunity of submitting it to a friend, who has improved on it at more points than one". He then quotes his friend's version, and concludes with the words, "But even then we are left with difficulties

of which neither of us has been able to dispose". Mr. Egerton Phillimore believes that the "friend" referred to was the late Mr. Llywarch Reynolds.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Phillimore has been much interested in the inscription for many years ;<sup>2</sup> and in sending his observations on it to Colonel Bradney for the purposes of the latter's *History of Monmouthshire*, he was good enough to suggest that they should be sent on to me, together with a rubbing supplied by him, and any views of Col. Bradney's own, for my opinion. I therefore wrote a short paper on the brass for the *History*, having before me Mr. Phillimore's notes consisting of new suggestions and criticisms of the attempts of Rhys and his friend, together with the rubbing, and a transcript and tentative translation into Latin by Col. Bradney.

Each of the two lines of the inscription contains four lines of Welsh poetry. Rhys regards the whole as forming *one* stanza of eight lines, with the third and seventh unrhymed—a form not only unknown but inconceivable as a *cynganedd* metre of the 15th century. His friend, by taking more liberty with the reading, converts them into two stanzas of the metre known as *englyn cyrch*. But, as Mr. Phillimore has seen, the eight lines consist of four *cywydd* couplets ; this is made as plain as possible in the lettering itself, for the beginning of each couplet is marked by a Gothic initial.<sup>3</sup> The *cywydd* was by far the most

<sup>1</sup> Sir Vincent Evans suggests that a second "friend" was Mr. Edward Owen, who assisted Rhys in the decipherment of the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g., *Arch. Camb.*, 1885, p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> Even Pughe saw that "it contains eight lines of poetry, each couplet beginning with the large initial letters" (Coxe, *op. cit.*, p. 419). But he chose Iolo Morganwg's *cyhydedd wastad* for the metre ; this is a metre of 8-syllabled lines, called in the standard system *cyhydedd verr*. He ignored the fact that the lines of this metre were not rhymed in pairs, but in groups of at least four ; see *Cyfr. Beirdd*, 1829, pp. 85, 86, 178.



popular of the standard metres from the time of Dafydd ap Gwilym (who died about 1380) to the end of the 16th century—in fact, the bulk of the poetry of that period is composed in it.

The *cywydd* couplet consists of two lines of seven syllables each; one line must end in an accented, the other in an unaccented, syllable; and these two end-syllables must rhyme. Either the accented or the unaccented ending may come first. The couplet is the unit of the metre, so that the rhyme is changed from couplet to couplet. The rules governing the length of the line and the accentuation of final syllables were strictly observed.

The difficulties which have stood in the way of the interpretation of the epitaph are threefold, and may be referred to (1) the author, (2) the scribe, and (3) the engraver.

(1) The *cywydd* metre held an even more dominating position in Welsh poetry at this period than the decasyllabic couplet in English poetry from Dryden to Goldsmith. The author of these verses, like every Welshman who dabbled in poetry at that time, was perfectly familiar with its outward form; and he seems to make no mistake in the length of the line and the accentuation of final syllables as defined above. But he was not a professional bard; he had evidently received no regular instruction in *cynghanedd*, or the correspondence of sounds within the line; he had noticed its effects, and reproduces them roughly. It is more difficult to reconstruct his mis-copied verses than if his *cynghanedd* could be relied upon as a sure guide to the form.

(2) The scribe, or writer of the copy, was unacquainted with the standard spelling of Welsh words; Rhys calls his orthography “Franco-English”, but some Welsh sounds, such as *ll* and *aw* are represented by their normal symbols,

doubtless learnt from the traditional spelling of place-names.<sup>1</sup> The peculiarities of the orthography are dealt with below; they naturally add greatly to the difficulty of determining the correct reading.

(3) The engraver clearly did not understand a word of Welsh; he was almost certainly an Englishman, "probably at Bristol" Col. Bradney suggests, but there is some (very doubtful) evidence of a local tradition that the engraving was done in London.<sup>2</sup> The engraver misread some letters in the copy, thus introducing further difficulties.

The author and the scribe may of course have been the same person, but I do not think this is likely. The scribe must have been a member of one of the learned professions, probably a lawyer; if he had taken enough interest in Welsh poetry to compose these verses, he could not help being familiar with it in its written form, and could scarcely be such a stranger to Welsh orthography. It seems therefore that Sir E. Maunde Thompson's interesting suggestion (op. cit., p. xxxv) that the author may have been Adam himself is hardly to be entertained. That he was the amanuensis is less unlikely, for the orthography is just what one would expect from a person like himself, who was thoroughly conversant with English and French,

<sup>1</sup> *Ll* in all the *Llan*-s; *aw* in *mawr*. These would occur in legal documents, with which a person able to write would be familiar, though he might not be familiar with Welsh MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Pughe refers to a communication sent to him by Coxe, and attributed by the latter to the Rev. Mr. Jones of Pistill, which says that "the original inscription was on a stone, which was sent to London; and the present one on brass is a *copy* executed there. . . . . Mr. Harris likewise affirms that this was a copy of a more ancient inscription". But the lettering of the brass belongs to the period of the composition of the verse; so there is nothing in the theory that it is a "copy". As it seems to have been lost sight of for a considerable period, and even Adam's name was unknown in the 18th century, the existence of a continuous genuine tradition concerning it is very doubtful.

and probably possessed only a colloquial knowledge of Welsh. But the case is really much stronger than that: when Adam's own spelling of Welsh names is examined it is found to tally in almost every particular with the spelling of our scribe, see below pp. 125—7; it is therefore very probable that he wrote out the lines himself. The chief objection to this supposition is that Adam does not seem to write *Uske*, but *Usk*, e.g. in his will "ego Adam Usk," "Datum apud Usk" (op. cit., pp. xxix, xxx), and so, consistently, in the chronicle. But *Uske* was in common use<sup>1</sup>; and it may have been the habitual spelling of the clerk who made the fair copy. In the absence of facts it is perhaps idle to speculate, but it is not inconsistent with what we know of Adam to suppose that the verses were inspired by him; they may have been composed by a friend of his with a local reputation as a poet; they were probably put in writing by himself, and perhaps handed to a copyist to engross for the engraver. This much, at any rate, is certain: that he spent his last days at or near Usk, at that time holding the living of Llangibby; and that he made elaborate preparations for his approaching end. "His will, which has fortunately been preserved, was dated [at Usk] on the 20th January, 1429-30; and it was proved on the 26th March, 1430. He died probably in the seventy-eighth year of his age" (*Chron.* p. xxix).

Thomas Wakeman, in the article referred to above, gives valuable information regarding the position and surroundings of the brass before the alterations made in the church in 1844 (*Arch. Camb.*, 1847, p. 35):

The nave of the church is separated from the choir by a carved skreen extending quite across the church, including the east

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<sup>1</sup> Adam himself is called "Adam Uske" in the king's pardon (*Chron.* p. xxviii).

end of the north aisle,<sup>1</sup> which, before the recent alterations, was fenced off from the choir by a similiar open skreen, at right angles with the former, inclosing a spare [read square] space, the use and intention of which are not very obvious . . . . . Upon the base of the principal skreen was affixed, time out of mind, the brass plate bearing the inscription in question, at a point very near the angle formed by the junction of the two. The church has recently undergone a thorough repair; the short skreen (that between the north aisle and the choir) has been taken away, and the brass plate removed from its original-site . . . . There is no reason to suppose that it was ever fixed in any other situation than where it stood, till the recent alterations, about a year ago.<sup>2</sup>

The last sentence is an expression of opinion, which does not seem to be well-founded; but the rest of the above quotation is a statement of facts. Now Adam, in his will, leaves his body to be buried in the parish church of Usk, "coram ymagine beate Marie virginis," (*Chron.* p. xxx); he gives no further particulars, but clearly everything had been arranged. The enclosure, "the use and intention of which are not very obvious" to Mr. Wakeman, and which he guesses to "have been the chapel of Saint Rhadagunda," must, by its position and in view of the dedication of the church, have been a Lady-chapel; and here, in her chapel, would of course be placed the image of the Virgin. It is characteristic of Adam's vanity that he should wish to be buried in the Lady-chapel, the burying place of illustrious personages. Indeed, he appears to have had this in mind long before; thus, under the year 1400 he writes in his chronicle (I quote Sir Edward's version, p. 219):

— But here Plato bids me hold my peace; for there is nothing more certain than death, nothing more uncertain than the hour

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<sup>1</sup> This would have been clearer if he had explained that there is no south aisle.

<sup>2</sup> The article is dated "Sept. 3, 1846." The alterations were made in 1844 (*Arch. Camb.* 1886, p. 91).

of death. And so, blessed be God!, I, already making my preparation for death, leave in my native church, that is, of Usk, my memorial in a suitable missal, and a grail, and a tropar, and a sequence-book, and an antiphonal, . . . . . and in a full suit of vestments, with three copes broidered with my bearings, that is: on a field sable a naked man delving; and I commend myself to the suffrages of prayers offered up therein. Further, I have in view, if God grant it, to adorn (*perornare*) the same church with more worthy repair (*reparacione honestiori*) to the glory of the Blessed Virgin, in honour of whose Nativity it is dedicated; yet do I not reckon this to mine own praise, for God forbid that this record of my foolishness should be seen in my lifetime!

It seems likely, therefore, that the chapel itself was enclosed at his expense; and as it is in connection with his "preparation for death" that he speaks of his intention to carry out improvements "to the glory of the Blessed Virgin," the motive was not unmixed, and he did not wish it to be known that he had so long cherished his dream of posthumous glorification.

Wakeman's conjecture as to the original position of the brass is inconsistent with Coxe's statement published in 1801, *op. cit.*, p. 132, that it was "formerly chained to the wall, but now nailed on the top of the partition between two pews near the chancel". Theophilus Evans, in 1740, see above p. 113, says that it "was *found* lately in Usk church, where it was first placed long before the coming of the Saxons". Here "lately" means before 1727, for Dr. Wotton died in February of that year. It was evidently found where it seemed to have been originally fixed; probably therefore in the wall, covered by plaster or white-wash. Dr. Wotton's original notice may possibly throw some light on this point, but none of those who quote him give a reference to it. The walls nearest to the later position of the brass on the screen are the north and east walls of the chapel.

As the facsimile shows, the brass is broken in two in the middle, but fortunately no part of any letter is lost. It is a strip measuring slightly over 1ft. 7ins. long by a good 2ins. wide. The height of the small letters is exactly  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. The inscription is cut in the ordinary black letter of the time; and the errors point to the copy being written in a similar hand, that is, the formal book-hand, and not the less legible cursive script of the period.

The following seems to be the actual reading of the brass. I have divided the two lines of the inscription into the eight metrical lines of which it is composed, numbering them for reference. In the margin I have inserted what I conceive to have been the reading of the manuscript, italicising the letters miscopied by the engraver. The errors are discussed in the notes.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Nole clode yi ethrode <sup>1</sup> yar lleyn <sup>2</sup> | <sup>1</sup> yrethrode <sup>2</sup> ueyn |
| 2. aduocade llawnhade llundeyn                               |  |
| 3. H barnour bede breynt apibe <sup>3</sup>                  | <sup>3</sup> arabe                       |
| 4. ty nev aro <sup>4</sup> ty hauabe                         | <sup>4</sup> avo                         |
| 5. Seliff sunnoeir sinna se                                  |  |
| 6. adam vske eva l <sup>5</sup> kuske                        | <sup>5</sup> ena ī                       |
| 7. Deke kummode doctor kymmen                                |  |
| 8. llenā loe <sup>6</sup> ī llawn o leue <sup>7</sup>        | <sup>6</sup> lee <sup>7</sup> lene       |

Adopting the marginal readings and transliterating into normal spelling the lines will read as follows :

1. Nôl clod i veddrod iar vein
2. advocad llawnhad llundein
3. A barnwr byd breint arab—
4. ty nev a vo [i] ti, ha vab!
5. Selyf swnnwyr, synna, sy,
6. Adam Wsk, yna yn kwsky,
7. Dec kwmmwd doctor kymmen—
8. llyna le yn llawn o lēn!

Taking the hint from Col. Bradney, I subjoin a word



for word rendering into Latin, because it enables the words to be taken in their order, and shows the construction. English renderings of the lines are given in the notes.

1. Post laudem ad sepulcrum de super tribunali
2. advocatus sollertiae Londinii
3. et "judex orbis" privilegio laeto—
4. domus caeli sit tibi, O vir!
5. Salomon sapientiae, ecce, est,
6. Adam Usk, istic in dormiendo,
7. decem commotorum doctor sagax—
8. en locus plenus eruditionis!

## NOTES.

### ORTHOGRAPHY.

Before discussing the readings and renderings it will be well to consider the scribe's orthography, which, when analysed, is seen to be less capricious than it appears at first sight.

(1) He uses the final mute *-e* so common in English and French, but foreign to Welsh orthography. It is, however, common enough in the Norman spelling of Welsh names; thus *Bōd* in place-names appears as *Bode* in the extents printed in Seeborn's *Tribal System*, as *Bode-ueuryk* p. 6, now *Bod Fwurig*; see also pp. 12, 13. In our inscription it denotes a long vowel in a monosyllable; thus *Nōl* for 'Nól; *clode* for *clōd*; *bede* for *bȳd*; *uabe* for *rāb*; *deke* for *dēc*; *lene* for *lēn*; that is how the words would be written in English. In *llawnhade*, and probably in *advocade*, the *a* of the final syllable was accented and long. Long *a* and *e* had then the same sound in English as in Welsh. But the mute *-e* is used in unaccented final syllables in *vethrode*, *kummode*, and *arabe*, as it was in words of similar sound in English.

(2) In the 15th century and earlier *u* and *v* were two forms of one letter, which was called *u*; the name *vee* is a late invention; the symbol *w*, that is double *v*, is of course still called "double-*u*." Initially before a vowel *u* denotes the *v* sound, thus *uabe* = *rāb*; conversely initial *v* before a consonant is the vowel, thus *Vske* = *Usk*. The two symbols were interchangeable; the supposition that *eva* in line 6 is a mistake for *ena* involves only the assumption of the common confusion of *n* and *u*; for if the engraver read it *u*, he was free to write it *v*.

As a vowel, *u* has its French value in *llundeyn*, for accented Welsh *u* was then sounded like French *u*. Elsewhere in the inscription *u*

has its English value, which was that of Welsh *w* (as it is still in *put*, *push*, *full*, etc.); thus *sunnoeir*, *kuske*, *kunmode*, are probably to be read *sunnowyr*, *cwsey*, *cwmmed*. But the *-wr* of *barnwr* is more suggestive of French *-our*; so this word is written *barnour*. In *llawn*, lines 2 and 8, the Welsh symbol *w* is used as noted above, p. 119. The Welsh diphthong *wy* (in which the *w* is the vowel) is written *oei* in *sunnoeir*; this appears to be a variant<sup>1</sup> of the French symbol *oi*, which then represented a sound intermediate between the medieval phonetic *oi* and the modern *wa*, and therefore probably not differing much from the Welsh *ŵy*. In *kunmode* the *o* in the second syllable is doubtless due to the influence of the Latin spelling *commotus*, English *commote*.

(3) The distinction made in Welsh between the symbols *i* and *y* is peculiar to Welsh, and was unknown to the scribe. He represents the *i* sound by *y* every time; it occurs in the prepositions *y* (= *i* 'to') and *yar* (= *iar* 'from upon'); in the second *ty* in line 4 (= *ti*); and in the diphthong *ei* in *ueyn*, *llundeyn*, *breynt*.

He represents the two sounds of *y* by *y*, *i* and *e*, just as they were represented in Welsh manuscripts before the symbol *y* was set apart to denote them. Thus, the clear sound of *y* is represented by *y* in the first *ty* in line 4 (if I understand it rightly); by *i* in *Seliff*; by *e* in *bede* for *byd*, in *se* for *sy*, in *kuske* for *kwsky* (the standard spelling of this is *cyscu*; but *u* in the unaccented ultima had already become clear *y* in the 14th cent., see my *Gram.*, p. 13). The obscure sound of *y* is represented by *y* in *kymmen*; by *i* in *sinna* for *synna*, and in *i* for *yn* (the stroke above *i* means *n*); and by *e* in *ena* for *yna* and in *llena* for *lyna*.

(4) The consonants present few difficulties. As above noted, the scribe knew the symbol for Welsh *ll*; but for the Welsh *dd* he uses in *vethrode* the symbol *th* used in English, as in *the*, *then*, *feather*, etc.

### Adam's Orthography.

Adam's own spelling of Welsh names exhibits nearly all the above features of the scribe's orthography. In the pedigree of Roger Mortimer, *Chron.* pp. 19-20, he is of course transcribing the family genealogy; but the transcription is free, and he spells in his own way such names as are known to him. The following examples are from the pedigree, except where another reference is given.

(1) He uses the final mute *-e*: in long monosyllables, *Rune* = *Rhūn*, *Ruthe* = *Rūdd*; in a long accented final, *Panteke* p. 40 = *Pant*

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Morgan Watkin tells me that *moeine*, *moeis* occur for *moine*, *mois*.

tēg; in unaccented finals in which he would write it if the words were English, *Ederne* = *Ederu*, *Padarne* = *Padarn*.

(2) He copied *u* with its Welsh value in *Gruffith*, *Rune*, *Ruthe*, *Cunetha*, and even in *Cladus*; in *Thui* = *Ddu* he adds *i* to show that it is the Welsh and not the English *u*. For final *-wr* he uses the French spelling *-our* in *Glyndour* pp. 77, 82 = *Glyndŵr* and *Trevaour* p. 116 = *Trevaŵr*. But in the pedigree he used the Welsh symbol *aw* in *Jawr* bis, *mawr*. The *oei* for *ŵy* in the brass is matched by *oy* in *Troynden* for *Trŷyndwn*, and *Goynet* (read *Goyneſh*) for *Gwynedd*; of course *oy* was common enough for French *oi*. As in *kummode* in the brass, he uses *o* for *w* in the final syllable under the influence of English spelling in *Klyndor* p. 64, *Glendor* p. 69, *Glyndor* p. 129.

(3) He uses *y* for *i* in *Rodry*, but copies *i* in *Beli*; he uses *ey* for the diphthong *ei* in *Oweyn* and *Peys*. He uses *e* for *y* in the second syllable of *Kerdeffe* p. xxx. The sound of *u* was beginning to be confused with the clear sound of *y*; thus he writes *Tydyr* p. 118 for *Tudur* originally *Tudyr*, and the curious use of *e* for the *y* is seen in *Tedur* p. 61; similarly *Greffit* p. 70, *Rethyn* p. 71. So in English: *Clefford* p. 64 for *Clyfford* p. 84.

(4) He uses the Welsh *ll* (not the Norman *thl*) in the initial of *Llewellyn* and elsewhere. He uses *th* for the Welsh *dd* in *Ruthe*, *Gruffith*, *Cunetha*, and in *Cladus Thui*, *Wladus Thui* p. 22 = *Gwladus Ddu*.

Any other person, accustomed to write French and English, but unacquainted with the Welsh literary tradition, would no doubt write Welsh in a somewhat similar manner; but the agreement between Adam's orthographical peculiarities and those of our scribe seems too close and detailed to be merely accidental, and the probability is that the verses were first committed to writing by him.

#### READINGS AND RENDERINGS.

Line 1.—*Nole* for 'Nôl, in full *Yn ôl*. The syncopated form 'nôl was common colloquially in any position long before this; it appears thus initially not much later in standard verse in the famous couplet of Llawdden (fl. c. 1460):

'Nôl blino'n treiglo pob tref,  
Teg edrych tuag adref.

*yi ethrode*; read *yvethrode* = *i veddrod*. Rhys's emendation is correct; but he reads *yr* and assumes that the engraver mistook *v* for *r*. But the stroke after the *y* is not a complete *r*, and is quite unlike the other form of *r* seen in *doctor*, see facsimile. The *v*, being a round-backed letter, could be joined to the *e*, forming a ligature like

the *de* in *clode*, etc.; in ligatured *ve* the second stroke branches inwards at the top to complete the *v*, and outwards to form the loop of the *e*; the engraver missed the curl completing the *v*, and reads ligatured *ve* as *ve*. He made exactly the same mistake at the end of line 3, where he read ligatured *be* as *le* (which he afterwards tried to correct).—*'Nól clod i veddrod* 'After fame—to the tomb'. ("The paths of glory lead but to the grave.")

*yar* = *iar*, contracted into a monosyllable *iar*. Rhys renders it 'above'; but it means 'from upon', except idiomatically in the phrase *iar farch* 'on a horse'. *iar* is the etymological equivalent of the Latin *desuper*; *i* 'from' comes from Keltic *\*di*, from Aryan *\*dē*; and *ar* 'upon' is for an older *war*, from Keltic *\*uer*, from Aryan *\*uper*. Compound prepositions went out of use in Latin, but *desuper* survived, though only as an adverb. In the above translation, which does not pretend to be good Latin, I have used it, resolved into its elements, to render the preposition *iar*, because it gives the exact meaning, which cannot be otherwise expressed.

*lleyn*; read *ueyn* = *vein*. Though the author was not versed in the niceties of *cynganedd* he does attempt to reproduce its obvious correspondences; but there is no semblance of *cynganedd* in this line unless the initial of *veddrod* is repeated in *vein*. It is practically certain that *lleyn* is an error for *ueyn*; the copyist no doubt wrote a rather tall *u*, which the engraver mistook for *ll*.—It does not seem possible that *vein* 'stones' can be meant; the author could easily have said *dan vein* 'under stones', if he meant that. The preposition *yar* 'from on' seems to be antithetical to *y* 'to', and suggests 'to the grave from on the bench'. The modern *mainc* 'bench' appears in Medieval Welsh as *beinc* and *being* (*Book of Aneirin*, 12:8); the latter was probably the Gwentian form. Now the nasals *ng* and *n* are liable to be confused after *ei* or *i*, as *Eingion* for *Einion*, *pring* for *prin*, and conversely *edlin* for *edling*; hence *bein* may well be a local form of *being* 'bench'.

Line 2.—*llawnhade* = *llawnhād*. Correct *cynganedd* would require *llāwndad*; but this is an improbable form, and need not be assumed, as the author probably thought that the *d* of *llawnhād* would do to correspond to the *d* of *llundein*.—Rhys renders *llawnhād* "fullness"; but 'fullness' is *llawnder* or *llawndra*; the form *llawnhād* must mean 'completion'. Mr. Phillimore observes that it is a very rare word; but the suffix *-hād* is even now almost free, in the sense that it can be added for the nonce to any adjective. He suggests that the word here means 'full degree or full perfection or the like'; but adds that "Oxford" would be more appropriate than "London", which is true if *llawnhād* merely means 'qualification'. I take it to refer to the proficiency which Adam displayed in the courts of London, where

he practised from 1399 till his flight to Rome in 1402, and probably after his return. I have stated above, p. 114, that I believe the Rev. Mr. Evans's rendering to be substantially correct. Col. Bradney renders it "*Advocatus perfectus Londinensis*" which gives the sense, but renders genitives by adjectives, thereby making *Llundein* depend on *advocad* instead of on *llawnhâd*. For *llawnhâd* I have adopted *sollertia* because its first element (*sollus* = *totus*) is synonymous with the Welsh *llawn*-. Perhaps the meaning intended by the author, freely rendered, is 'the most skilled (*consultissimus*) advocate of London.'

Line 3.—*barnour* = *barnur* 'judge'. Silvan Evans gives no example earlier than the Bible; but the word was certainly in use in the 15th century (e.g. D. ab Edmwnd, *Gwaith*, Bangor, 1914, p. 81). On *bede* = *byd*, see Orthography (3) above. The phrase *barnur byd* is dealt with below.

*breynt* = *breint* 'privilege'. As *bryein* occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, 1893, p. 120, the local pronunciation was probably *brein*; this is parallel to *being* for *beinc*. The author probably intended *brein* for his *cynghanedd*, though he would regard *breint* as the standard form.

*apibe*, originally engraved *apile*. This is a bungle of the engraver's. The word used by the author rhymed with *-abe*, which is perfectly clear at the end of line 4; the *-le* originally cut, must therefore be a miscopy of ligatured *be*, as stated above; but the tag at the top left-hand corner of the *e* seems to be an attempt to correct the *l* by completing the *b*; hence I think that, though *-le* was originally cut, we should take *-be* as the actual reading of the brass. The two strokes before the *-be* must represent *a* in the copy, to complete the rhyme. This leaves only the first stroke of the *p* after the first *a*; that stroke, together with its connexion at the top with the next stroke, I take to represent *r* in the copy.<sup>1</sup> The word then is *arabe* = *arab*. The consonants of "*barnur*." in the first part of the line are repeated in correct sequence in the suggested reading "*brein arab*" in the second part, though the accentuation is faulty as in line 2. Possibly also the author meant the *b* of *byd* to correspond to the final *b* of *arab*.—The meaning of *arab* is 'pleasant, happy,' etc. Silvan Evans gives first 'facetious, witty,' but this is a late meaning, and is not that of his early examples.

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<sup>1</sup> All the other errors are best explained by the supposition that the copy was in book-hand; a momentary lapse into the copyist's everyday court-hand, in which the stem of *r* was produced below the line, would account for the error here. As for the reading being *apabe*, a ligatured *pa* is not very likely; *a* is not used for *y*; and *y pab* is metrically almost inconceivable.



Line 4.—The words are run together in the first part of this line; but only one division seems possible. The *cynghanedd* consists in the repetition in “*ti ha rab*” of the consonants *t v* in the first part of the line. The fact that *n* comes between the consonants in “*ty nev*” would not trouble the author; but he probably *would* feel that a *v* was required before the accent to correspond to the *v* of *rab*, this being one of the obvious correspondences of *cynghanedd*. It is therefore probable that *a ro* should be *a vo* to correspond to *ha rab*, the word *nev* being entirely passed over, like the *-tor* of *doctor* in line 7. It would be easy for the engraver to read ligatured *ro* as *vo*, cf. note on *yi ethrode* in line 1. The *v* of *nev*, besides being metrically useless here, had disappeared in the spoken language; this is perhaps why the scribe writes *nev* instead of *nere*, regarding the word as *ne*, with *v* added to save a hiatus.

In *a vo i ti* the preposition *i* is not syllabic, but forms a diphthong with the *o* of *vo*; it might, therefore, be lost in the process of dictating, for after giving out *vo*, the author could not sound the asyllabic *i* before *ti*, and to make it syllabic would seem to him to spoil the metre.

*ha vab* is a common medieval form of address, made familiar to modern readers by its use in the Welsh Bible.

I have rendered *Advocatus* and not *Advocate* in line 2 because I assume that in lines 1—3, as in lines 5—8, the author is speaking of Adam, and only addressing him in line 4.

Lines 3 and 4.—In the notes which I sent to Colonel Bradney I rendered the first words of these lines “*Et Judex mundi. . . . domum caeli det tibi*,” being loth to assume that *ro* was an error, since it made sense. Rhys also had taken *barnwr byd* as “the world’s Judge”. But Mr. Phillimore thought that *barnwr* referred to Adam, and Col. Bradney pointed out the probable reference. I now think that both were right. The difficulty of course is in judging how far an unskilled versifier can depart from the normal in *cynghanedd*; but as pointed out above, even our author would probably feel the need of the chime of *vo* and *vab* here.—Adam in his *Chronicon* (1904, p. 75) says that soon after his arrival in Rome he was raised “in pape capellanum, palacique apostolici auditorem, urbisque et orbis judicem” (in Sir Edward’s version, “to the dignity of papal chaplain, and auditor of the apostolic palace, and judge of city and world”) “being invested by the pope himself with the ensigns of office, to wit, the cope and rocket and hat”. Even if Adam did not inspire the epitaph, he would not have left his neighbours in ignorance of the title “*urbis et orbis judex*” conferred upon him by the pope. It seems probable therefore that *barnwr byd* is a translation of “*orbis judex*”. This interpretation allows a ‘and’ to be taken naturally, as connecting



*advocat* and *barnwr* both referring to the same person; in the other rendering the *a* was superfluous, and rather awkward. *Breint*, too, would be more likely to be used in this connexion: 'The finished advocate of London, and "judge of the World" by gracious privilege, —may the heavenly abode be thine, good sir!'

Line 5.—*Seliff* 'Solomon': spelt *Selif* in the *Book of Llan Dâr*, see its index; the standard form is *Selyf*, dialectally often sounded *Selyff*; cf. *Cardiff* for *Caer-dyf*, and *Llandaff* for *Llan-daf*.

*sumnoeir* = *sumnwyr*, see Orthography (2) above. The obscure *y* sound in the penult tends to become *w* before *w* in the ultima, as in *cwmwd* for *cymwd*, *bwgwrth* for *bygwrth*, etc. The vowel in the diphthong *wy* in *sumnwyr* is *w*, and though the *y* in the penult generally remains in this word, it might locally have become *w*.

*sinna* = *synna*. "Synna, the same as *Wle*, lo, behold," Thos. Richards, *Dic.* 1753, s.v.

The *cynghanedd* in this line is *braidd gyffwrdd*, consisting of the correspondence of consonants in *sumnwyr* and *synna*. This form was banned at the revision of the rules in 1451 (J. D. Rhys, 1592, p. 255), but it is found in the early *cywyddau*, e.g. (*D. ap G. a'i Gyf.*, p. 28):

O dra disgwyl dysgiad certh.

—*D. ap Gwilym*.

The alliteration (*S*-, *s*-, *s*-, *s*-,) is probably meant to add to the effect, though this is not a recognised form of *cynghanedd*.

Line 6.—*adam vske*.—At first I read *adam yske*, like Pughe and Rhys; but the letter read *y* has not the distinctive comma above it which marks all the *y*'s, the bottom right-hand corner is angular like that of the *v*'s, and it has not the very decided tail of all the undoubted *y*'s. The engraver seems to have hesitated between *v* and *y*; but Welsh scribes who dotted *y*'s dotted them all, so that the letter in the copy must have been *v*. The initial *a* of *adam* (though a similar, but smaller, one occurs in *advocat*) may have been suggested by the "small capital" *a* used initially by Walsh scribes; and perhaps the *v* in the copy was a peculiar initial form. *Usk* or *Uske* is the English form of the Welsh *Wyse*; the only modification in the English name was the simplification of the diphthong *wy* to the vowel *w*, for *Usk* was pronounced as if written in Welsh *Wse*. Wm. Salesbury tells us that in his time the English *lust* was sounded as if spelt *lwst* in Welsh, *Dic.* 1547, reprint, p. [xx]. The author's pronunciation of the name was *Adam Wsk*, and he meant *Wsk* to rhyme with the first syllable of *kusky* to form a *cynghanedd lusy*. The spelling *kuske* indicates that the dialectal pronunciation was *kusky*, so that the *cynghanedd lusy* was a good one; but no professional bard would have used that form in the *second* line of a couplet.

*eva l.* I have already noticed the error of *eva* for *ena=yna* 'there (close by)'. The *l* is clearly an error for *i=yn*, as in line 8; a tall *i* running up into the horizontal stroke above would look like *l*, cf. the tall *u* in line 1 mistaken for *ll*. After *yna* the *y* of *yn* would be elided; thus *yna yn* would be read *yna'n*, and the line is of the right length.

I have rendered *sy . . . yn kwsky* literally 'est . . . in dormiendo'; it is a periphrastic present, the equivalent of the English *is . . . a-sleeping*; in good Latin it is, of course, no more than *dormit*. Re-arranging the words, lines 5 and 6 may be rendered into English: 'Lo! a Solomon of wisdom, Adam Usk, is sleeping there'.

Line 7.—*Deke = dec*; the final *g* of *deg* is hardened before the initial *k* of *kwmwd*, but apart from that the scribe would probably use *k*, cf. Adam's *Panteke* above p 126 (in English spelling *-ge* denotes soft *g*). *Deke* cannot be a mutation of *teg* 'fair', for initial mutation at the beginning of a couplet (except in the universally mutated initials of *fy*, *dy*, etc.) is exceedingly unlikely at this period; the word must be the numeral *deg* 'ten'.

*kummode* is undoubtedly *kwmwd*, see Orthography (2); the penultimate vowel of *cymmod* would have been written *y* as in *kymmen* in the same line. "Ten commotes" was a pretty large tract of country; there were four commotes in Gwent. The expression, as Dr. J. E. Lloyd (to whom I referred the question) suggests, is used here in a general sense. It is a poetical, not a topographical, expression; the line simply means that Adam was the wise doctor of the district. The old inversion of the usual order of noun and dependent genitive was still common in *cynghanedd* in such phrases as these, e.g. *Maelawr oleuni* "light of Maelor", Dafydd Nanmor, fl. c. 1460 (*Gram.*, J. Rhydderch, 1728, p. 139). In this construction the *d-* of *doctor* should be mutated to *dd-*, but initial mutation is often neglected after the ceasura, or break in the middle of the line.

*doctor*: Adam was a doctor of laws of Oxford, *Chron.*, p. xii.

*kymmen* meant 'wise, clever'. Silvan Evans gives late meanings 'neat, compact', etc., 'pert, nice', etc., but in all his old examples the word obviously means 'wise', or 'clever', see s.v. *cymhen*. *Tafod cymen* is a 'clever tongue'; the word itself does not mean 'eloquent'.

The *cynghanedd* of the line is defective, the *t r* of *doctor* being passed over in the consonant-sequence.

Line 8.—This line is an echo of a well-known line of Dafydd ap Gwilym which occurs in his elegy on Gruffudd Gryg (*Barddoniaeth*, 1789, p. 259, *D. ap G. a'i Gyf.*, 1914, p. 113):

Llyna gist yn llawn o gerdd!

'Behold a casket full of song!'

The casket was Gruffudd's coffin. Our author borrowed the idea and the *cynghanedd* of the line; but to adapt it to Adam he had to change *cerdd* 'song' to *lên* 'learning'. This involved changing *cist* 'chest, casket, coffer', to some word beginning radically with *ll-* (or *gl-*), so that in its mutated form it would begin with *l-* to correspond to the *l-* of *lên* (this proves his feeling for this correspondence, and confirms the emendation in line 4). The word he used appears in the inscription as *loe*. Enough has been said to show that the engraver reproduced faithfully every letter in his copy as he understood it—the liberties taken with the text even by Rhys, not to mention his friend and the earlier interpreters, are quite out of the question. Engraving on brass is a slow and deliberate process, with opportunities for verification at every stage; and the omission of a letter seems to me highly improbable. We must take it then that *loe* was what the engraver saw in the copy. I had assumed that this was an error for *loc*. At first I took this to be the medieval *loc* (from Latin *locus*), which at an early period meant 'holy place' or 'grave'. But the word had long been obsolete in that sense; and medieval *loc* would be spelt *loke* by our scribe, see note on *Deke* above. If the reading was *loc* the sound must have been *lock* (cf. Adam's *Jac* for *Jack* in *Chron.* p. 1). The Welsh *llocc* (from Old English *loc*) which generally means 'sheepfold', might possibly denote an enclosure such as that described by Mr. Wakeman (above, p. 122). But as Mr. Hemp points out (see below), the *o* in the *loe* of the brass is either an *e* altered to *o*, or an *o* altered to *e*. In either case it is obvious that the error is in this letter, and not in the final *e*; the *o* must be a misreading of *e*. The engraver either wrote *lee* and mistakenly corrected it to *loe*, or, as is perhaps more likely, wrote *loe* and tried to correct it to *lee*. Clearly, then, the copy read *lee*, which gives sense; for this is how the scribe would naturally spell the Welsh *lê* 'place'. The author had to find a suitable monosyllable beginning with *l-*, and the prosaic and pointless *le* was evidently the best he could think of. But he was probably quite pleased with his effort; and though the drop from Dafydd ap Gwilym is abysmal, he no doubt flattered himself (and Adam would no doubt agree) that he had produced rather a fine thing when he put into *cynghanedd* "behold a place full of learning!"

#### POSTSCRIPT.

My best thanks are due to the Vicar of Usk, the Rev. P. C. L. Nash, for his courtesy and kindness to me when I visited the church in January, 1921, and to Col. Bradney who was good enough to meet me there, and to assist me in taking rubbings. I have also to express my very cordial thanks to Mr. Wilfrid J. Hemp, F.S.A., who supplied me with much better rubbings, and subsequently took the excellent rubbing of which the accompanying facsimile is a photographic repro-

duction. I am indebted to Mr. Hemp for valuable assistance in other ways. A proof of the above article having been sent to him, he made an independent transcript of the inscription, and also obtained another made independently by Mr. Challenor Smith, F.S.A. He writes as follows:—

“Taking the eight lines as given on p. 124 we agreed entirely as to 1, 2 and 3. In line 4, however, we thought that in the word *haube*, in the second *a*, the engraver first wrote *ci*, and then made a half-hearted attempt to alter it to an *a* by putting one horizontal cross-stroke instead of the usual two diagonal ones. Also in line 6 he wrote *evci*, and not *eva*. In this case he made no attempt to change what he had engraved; and the same remark applies to the *a* in *llawn* in the last line”.

If every uncrossed *a* is *ci*, the engraver made more mistakes than I thought; but in the result this makes no difference, since it is absolutely certain in each case that the letter meant was *a*. Mr. Hemp is not certain whether the *e* of *llena* in line 8 was not first written *c* and then corrected to *e*. He proceeds:—

“What is certain, however, is that the engraver first wrote the *o* following as an *e*, and then altered it to *o* (or conceivably reversed the process). It is not unusual in brass inscriptions for mistakes of this kind to be obliterated at the time by filling up the unnecessary lines with composition”.

This statement gave me the clue to the correct reading of *loe* in line 8, which I have thought it more convenient to deal with in its proper place above.

Mr. Hemp thinks that the *v* in *vszk* is “very much more like *y*”. But for the reasons stated above, I think it must have been *v* in the copy, and it is certainly not a good *y* in the brass.

I append Mr. Hemp's valuable note on the position of the inscription (see p. 123).

“As to the position of the inscription, I think it would be safe to say that the brass was quite certainly fixed in a stone, the usual practice being to counter-sink the stone, and rivet the brass to it by brass rivets held in by lead. In this case the holes for the rivets exist. Sometimes also the brass was in addition laid in a bed of pitch. The most probable position for the stone would be on the floor—in this case ‘coram imagine’. The stone might, however, have been placed on an altar tomb, but it would be very unusual indeed for it to be placed in a perpendicular position in the wall. I can at the moment think of only one case where this was done at such an early date as that of this brass. The comparatively unscratched condition of the metal suggests that whatever its position may have been it had not been much subjected to the wear of feet, although were it near an altar it would never have been liable to much wear from this cause.

Of course there are many ways in which it might have been hidden and subsequently come to light, e.g., supposing it were on an altar tomb partly or wholly let into a recess in the wall, the recess might have been filled up at a later date and so covered the inscription; or were it on the floor it might have been covered by structural alterations or pews”.



# ADAM USK'S EPITAPH

FROM A RUBBING BY WILFRID J. HEMP, F.S.A.



## TRANSCRIPTION

Nole clode yi ethrode yar lleyn aduocade llawnhade llundeyn Abarnour bede breynt apibe ty nevaro ty hauabe  
Seliff funnocir finna fe adam vke eva l kuske Deke kummode doctor kymmen llana loc i llawn o leue

## TRANSLITERATION

*Nôl clod i veddrod iar vein, advocad llawnhad Llundein A barnwr byd breint arab—ty nef a vo [i] ti, ha vab !  
Selyf swnnwyr, synna, sy, Adam Wsk, yna yn kwsky, Dec kwmmdl doctor kymmen—llyna le yn llawn o lôn !*





## Adam of Usk.

BY W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, K.C.,

*Recorder of the City of Cardiff.*

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BORN about 1352, dying about 1430, having lived nearly four score adventurous and chequered years, Adam Usk—as he called himself—was forgotten of men for over four centuries and a half. In 1876 Sir Edward Maunde Thompson was inspecting the Heber MSS. in the British Museum, which had been lying there for 40 years. Among them he found a copy of Higden's "Polychronicon", ending with the reign of Edward III. There followed, in another hand, a sort of continuation—a chronicle dealing with the reign of Richard II. and the first five years of Henry IV. From internal evidence, Sir Edward came to the conclusion that the author of the compilation was Adam Usk, or, as he was called by the editor, Adam of Usk. There was nothing to show how Mr. Richard Heber came by the MS. The date of the MS. is conjectured to be about 1450, and as Adam died in 1430, it is clear that the MS. is not in his handwriting. In the preface to the edition, Sir Edward stated that the chronicle, ending as it did abruptly with the year 1404, was only a fragment, and that the concluding portion was probably irretrievably lost. Years after, in 1885, the Historical MSS. Commissioners were making a calendar of the Duke of Rutland's MSS. at Belvoir Castle. In an attic they discovered a neglected pile of vellum leaves, which they brought with them to London. Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte, the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, hazarded the guess that this

was the lost portion of the Chronicle of Adam of Usk. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson confirmed this opinion, and so, at long last, after unknown adventures ranging over many centuries, the Chronicle of Adam of Usk was salvaged and published at the expense of the Royal Society of Literature. As we shall see, Adam bequeathed his copy of the "Polychronicon" to his nephew, Edward ap Adam, whom he also named as his executor. It may be therefore that the Chronicle was copied by the executor, or by scribes employed by him, from rough jottings made by his uncle from time to time of events of which he was, for the main part, an eye and ear-witness. How the MS. came to be separated into two fragments, how their very existence was forgotten for over four hundred years, no one can say. The history of the survival of all ancient MSS. is fascinating; seldom is it so romantic and mysterious as the story of the existence, the loss, and the rediscovery of the Chronicle of Adam of Usk. We are told that the historical value of the Chronicle is small. The ground has been covered by other chroniclers, who were more painstaking and comprehensive than Adam. But Welshmen would readily sacrifice many a MS. which dry-as-dust historians delight in for this unique and absorbing record of a stirring era in the history of Wales. It is not merely a record of events. It affords us a glimpse of the way in which an educated Welshman of those days regarded the events of his time, and especially the rebellion of our great national hero, Owen Glyndwr.

Almost everything we know of Adam is to be found in his Chronicle. There are four exceptions. The first is the pardon extended to his "servant" Edward Usk in 1403; the pardon granted to Adam himself in 1411; his will; and his epitaph, with which matters I purpose to deal in due time. He was born at Usk in Monmouth-

shire, where two centuries later Sir Roger Williams, the prototype of Shakespeare's Fluellen, was born. At the date of his birth, Ifor Hael was keeping his splendid court at Maesaleg near Newport. Within his halls sang Dafydd ap Gwilym, by universal consent the greatest Welsh poet of all time. Adam, like all Welshmen—if we may believe Giraldus—was fond of people of high birth. Pages of his Chronicle are devoted to the glorification of the lineage of the Mortimers and the Fitzalans of his day. He never lost a chance of mentioning any Welshmen of gentle birth. Among the four men of noble birth who were killed at Agincourt he takes care to mention Sir John Scudamore and David Gam of Breconshire. He loved good cheer if we may rely on the obvious pleasure with which he refers to the way in which Henry Bolingbroke feasted on the royal stores and wines at Ludlow and Chester. He loved, too, a generous lord. With what sorrow he speaks of the death of Llewelyn ap Griffith Vaughan of Caio, "a man of gentle birth and bountiful, who yearly used sixteen tuns of wine in his household," but who was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Llandovery in 1401 in the presence of the King and the Prince of Wales, "because he was well-disposed to the said Owen Glyndwr". But Ivor was the most generous lord of his day, and he had kept semi-regal state for many years within a day's march of Usk. Yet, strange to relate, Adam never mentions him or his mansions or his hospitality. Adam's epitaph is written in the metre known as the Mesur Cywydd. It is conjectured that it was composed by himself. At all events, it is a fair inference to draw that he not only knew Welsh, but that he took an interest in Welsh poetry. The Cywydd had been invented, we are told,—or at all events perfected—by Dafydd ap Gwilym. It is strange therefore that we find no reference at all to Dafydd in the pages of Adam.

How are we to account for this? Are we to conclude that Ivor Hael was a figment of the brain of Iolo Morgannwg, as the best of the so-called poems of Dafydd were, according to the Welsh Baconians, forged by the old stone-cutting antiquary? Was Dafydd's fame so little known in his own age that such an ardent Welshman as Adam did not think it worth while to refer to him? Suppose, on the other hand, that old Iolo had discovered Adam's Chronicle, and, according to his custom, copied it, with conjectural emendations of his own. Suppose, further, that Richard Heber had never rescued one fragment and the mice had eaten the other in the attic of Belvoir,—for I suppose even ducal attics have their mice. Old Iolo would be still more a forger, and in addition to being the greatest bard of Wales, he would be recognised as well-versed in mediæval politics and a master of mediæval Latin.

Adam's first patron was Edmund Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March, who married Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. It was Mortimer who sent him to Oxford, presenting him to "a studentship in laws, with fitting endowment". To the House of Mortimer he was ever loyal. There was no family in England, according to him, that could boast such a pedigree. He devotes three pages to prove its descent from the Kings of England and France, and through Gladys Ddu the daughter of Llewelyn the Great, back to Brutus of Troy, Jupiter and Saturn, Noah and Methusalem, and so back to Adam, whom our poor chronicler, living centuries before Darwin and Canon Barnes, fondly describes as the Father of Man. He delivers a panegyric on his patron for "his abounding virtues as well as his warlike energy and valour". He describes with fatherly pride how 20,000 people, "clad in hoods of the Mortimer colours, red and white," went forth

to welcome young Roger, the fourth Earl, on his return from Ireland in 1398, because of his "exceeding uprightness" which was in such contrast with the wanton levity and oppression of his cousin King Richard. Of Sir Edmund Mortimer, Glyndwr's son-in-law, who perished at the siege of Harlech in 1409, he speaks with unfeigned sorrow, but triumphantly concludes by recording the fact that his "wonderful deeds" were still sung at feasts by the bards of Wales.

At Oxford he was a diligent and successful student, and about the year 1380 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1387 he was still resident at the University as an "extraordinarius" in Canon Law. He casually mentions late in his Chronicle that he was (Archbishop) Chicheley's immediate predecessor in the chair of Civil Law. There is one salient incident in his Oxford career which is worth recording in his own words.

In these days there happened at Oxford a grave misfortune. For during two whole years was there great strife between the men of south and the men of Wales on the one side and the northerners on the other. Whence arose broils, quarrels, and ofttimes loss of life. In the first year the northerners were driven clean away from the University. And they laid their expulsion chiefly to my charge. But, in the second year, in an evil hour, coming back to Oxford, they gathered by night, and denying us passage from our quarters by force of arms, for two days they strove sorely against us, breaking and plundering some of the halls of our side, and slaying certain of our men. Howbeit, on the third day our party, bravely strengthened by the help of Merton Hall, forced our adversaries shamefully to fly from the public streets, which for the two days they had held as a camp, and to take refuge in their own quarters. In short, we could not be quieted before many of our number had been indicted for felonious riot; and amongst them I, who am now writing, was indicted, as the chief leader and abettor of the Welsh, and perhaps not unrighteously. And so indicted we were with difficulty (*sic*) acquitted, being tried by jury before the King's judge of assize. From that day forth I feared the King, hitherto unknown to me in his power, and his laws, and I put hooks into my jaws.

Adam does not give the date of this typical riot between students of a mediæval University, but Anthony Wood describes a very similar occurrence as having taken place in 1388 and 1389. The "dux et fautor" of the Welsh contingent was therefore 36 or 37 years of age when he took part in the affray. As has been already mentioned, he was an "extraordinarius" in Canon Law in 1387, the year before the riot, and as Chicheley left the University in 1392, he must have been appointed to the Civil Chair a year or two before that time. Adam could hardly have been appointed, on the other hand, to so dignified a position after he had narrowly escaped conviction for felonious rioting. One is therefore driven to the conclusion that the Welsh faction were led to the assault by the middle-aged professor of Civil Law. Probably this escapade led to Adam shaking the dust of Oxford from off his feet. He resigned his post probably about 1390, and then for seven years, according to another casual statement made by him, he practised as an advocate in the Archbishop's Court at Canterbury, as well, of course, as in the King's Courts in London. He was present at the 1397 Parliament, probably in attendance on Archbishop Arundel, who was his constant patron. This was probably due to the influence of Philippa Mortimer, the second wife of the Earl of Arundel. Adam describes with sympathy the trial of the two brothers at the Shrewsbury Parliament in 1397. The Archbishop was banished, while the Earl was beheaded on Tower Hill. "And with his soul," fervently exclaims the chronicler, ever loyal to his friends, in weal or woe, "may I be found worthy to rest in bliss, for assuredly I doubt not that he is gathered to the company of the saints."

The expulsion from the realm of his patron must have been a blow to the rising advocate; but his ill fortune did



not last long. In August, 1399, Bolingbroke landed at Ravenspur ostensibly to claim the Duchy of Lancaster, and he was soon followed by the exiled Archbishop. Adam attached himself to the fortunes of the Pretender, and accompanied him in his march from Bristol to Raglan, from Raglan to Ludlow, and from Ludlow to Shrewsbury and Chester. There is nothing very notable in his description of the Duke's triumphal progress. The Lady of Usk, Elinor, widow of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, was the daughter of the Earl of Kent, the King's half-brother. She was therefore naturally inclined to the King's party. But Adam interceded on behalf of his native place, and not only saved the lives and possessions of its inhabitants, but effected a reconciliation between Elinor's second husband, Lord Charlton of Powis and the Duke. At Ludlow Adam was successful in helping an old Oxford friend who was in distress. He found Thomas Prestbury in prison on some unspecified charge. He not only secured his release, but also his appointment as Abbot of Shrewsbury, two kindly acts which stood him in good stead in the years to come.

With the accession of Henry IV. to the throne, fortune began to smile on our chronicler. He already held, since 1396, the benefice of Castle Combe in Wiltshire. In 1399 Archbishop Arundel presented him to the benefice of Kemsing, in Surrey, and he was appointed to a prebend and canonry in the collegiate church of Abergwili, and to a prebend in the church of Bangor (Iscoed) in the diocese of St. Asaph.

In addition to these ecclesiastical preferments during the next two years and a half he was engaged in many of the *causes celebres* of the day. He drew up Sir Thomas Dymock's petition that he should be the King's Champion at the Coronation; he was asked to advise as to whether

the dower of Queen Isabella, the infant widow of the late King, should be returned or not to France ; he was counsel for Sir James Berkeley of Raglan against Lord Maby, and he tells us that his fee was 100 shillings and 12 yards of scarlet cloth ; he was for lord Grey de Ruthin in his suit against lord Edward Hastings, as to who should bear the arms of Hastings. He was employed also in matters of state.

He was a member of the Commission that was appointed to advise on the deposition of King Richard. On St. Matthew's Day (September 21st), "just two years after the beheading of the Earl of Arundel," Adam was present at the Tower where King Richard, "fair as Absalom," was imprisoned, and marked his mood and bearing while he dined.

And there and then the King discoursed sorrowfully in these words: "My God! A wonderful land is this, and a fickle: which hath exiled, slain, destroyed, or ruined so many kings, rulers, and great men, and is ever filled and toileth with strife and variance and envy." And then he recounted the histories and names of sufferers from the earliest habitation of the kingdom. Perceiving then the trouble of his mind, and how that none of his own men, nor such as were wont to serve him, were appointed to his service, but strangers who were but spies upon him, and musing on his ancient and wonted glory and on the fickle fortune of the world, I departed thence much moved at heart.

Froude, in a famous passage, describes how impossible it is for us of this age to vault over the chasm which divides us from the Middle Ages. "Between us and the old English there lies a gulf of mystery which the prose of the historian will never adequately bridge. They cannot come to us, and our imagination can but feebly penetrate to them. Only among the aisles of the cathedral, only as we gaze upon their silent figures sleeping on their tombs, some faint conceptions float before us of what these men

were when they were alive ; and perhaps in the sound of church bells, that peculiar creation of the mediæval age, which falls upon the ear like the echo of a vanished world." But the simple sketch drawn by the Welsh Commissioner of the fallen king in the Tower, without friends or servants, awaiting his doom in awful loneliness and despair, and exclaiming against the fickle nation that had stoned so many of her kings and prophets, and the last personal little touch, " *Multum animo meo recessi turbatus,*" " *I departed thence much moved at heart,*" brings home to me the tragedy of Richard II. more vividly and poignantly than even the great historical drama of Shakespeare.

Perhaps the most difficult thing for modern men, especially if they be Protestants, is to understand the mediæval conception of religion. There was such a mixture of lawless violence and generosity, of cruelty and chivalry, of licentiousness and self-sacrifice, of genuine devotion and ribald profanity that the psychology of the mediæval Churchman baffles most of us. But occasionally we came across a passage in the *Lives of the Saints*—very seldom in the *Chronicles*—which makes us feel that after all we are akin to those who went before us. I envy not the man who can read unmoved the account, with its haunting pathos and gospel-like simplicity and directness, given by our chronicler of the last moments of his friend and townsman, John of Usk, who died of the plague in 1400.

Then died my lord John of Usk, abbot of Chertsey, together with thirteen monks. He, of happy memory, an inceptor in theology, a man surely of the greatest holiness, ever walking as a servant of the Blessed Virgin, gave up his soul to the Lord on the day of her Nativity (September 8),—just as he had ever wished it to happen on that feast, being born in her parish and baptised in her font in Usk. Would I might be worthy to go with him on his way ! I was with him in the last moments,

--and I had his blessing, wherein I rejoice. . . . Being comforted in his sleep by the Blessed Virgin, as he was departing he spake thus to his brethren and to me: "The enemy laid snares for me, but the Blessed Virgin Mary, coming with two other ladies to my succour, did utterly drive him out, giving me comfort that henceforth he should not trouble me, and that she herself with those two would not leave me, until she had my soul safe with her." And then, as it were, a gentle sleep fell upon him. And a certain brother, William Burton, roused him, saying "Be of good cheer, for you shall fare well!" The abbot replied, "Blessed be God! I shall fare well. Be silent and hearken!" The monk said, "Unto what shall I hearken?" "The host of angels singing with sweetest melody, 'Come blessed son of thy heavenly Father, receive his kingdom for thine eternal inheritance.'" The other said, "I hear it not. --Would I were worthy to hear!" And so he peacefully rendered his soul to God.

For two years and more after the accession of Henry IV, Adam further pursued his prosperous career with every hope of advancement in Church and State. Then suddenly, in February, 1401-2, came utter ruin. "On the 19th day of February, in the year of Our Lord 1401-2, the writer of this history as, by the will of God, I determined, took ship at Billingsgate in London, and with a favouring wind crossed the sea" on his way to Rome, which city he reached "by the favour of God and the fear of our archer-guards" on the fifth day of the following April. Our chronicler himself assigns no reason for this abrupt change in the course of his life. Mr. J. H. Wylie in his admirable "History of Henry IV" attempts a solution which has been accepted by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson. This is how Sir Edward, the re-discoverer of Adam Usk, to whom we owe boundless thanks for a fine translation of the original Latin as well for a full and scholarly annotation of the Chronicle, summarises Mr. Wylie's conclusions.

Grievous is it to relate that Adam of Usk, a doctor of laws of Oxford, a clergyman of standing, and one who enjoyed the

protection of the great and powerful, and who, we doubt not, was looking forward to substantial preferment, had on the 2nd November, 1400, taken to the road in Westminster and stolen a horse, colour black, saddle and bridle, value one hundred shillings, together with the sum of fourteen marks in cash, all the property of one Walter Jakes; and that Adam and his servants Edward Usk and Richard Edoyne were convicted as common thieves.<sup>1</sup>

This is an astounding fact, if it be true. An old and hackneyed adage has it, "Nemo repente venit turpissimus," "No one ever became thoroughly bad all at once." Let us consider the position of Adam in November, 1400. In the previous year he had been engaged on the highest matters of state, the preparation of the case for the deposition of King Richard; since then ecclesiastical preferments had been showered upon him; he was constantly employed in lucrative cases by highly-placed clients; with the exception of the Oxford rioting, which may very well have started as a frolic though it developed into something more serious, we know nothing against his character, and of crime he had been acquitted even at Oxford; he could not have been in want of money. Yet we are asked to believe that this prosperous man, who was nearing his 50th year, who considered himself a year or so later to have arrived at old age and decay ("senecta et senium"), suddenly armed his servants and others and turned highwayman in Westminster where he must have been fairly well-known, in order to rob one Walter Jakes of goods of the value of 100 shillings—the value of one of his briefs! Of course everything is possible, and men of good character have been known to commit graver crimes for more inadequate motives. But before we should be asked to credit so sudden and monstrous a perversion of an honourable man's previous conduct, it is well to examine the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wylie states that Adam "was seized by a return of his youthful (*sic*) passion for street brawling."

evidence upon which the allegation is based. Mr. Wylie bases his charge on one document and one document alone. It is a pardon granted in 1403 to Edward Usk, Pat. Rolls, 4 Hen. IV, ii, 22. The Latin original is set forth by Sir Edward, and I need not therefore do more than append a translation :—

“The King to all bailiffs, etc., greeting.

Know ye that Edward Usk and Richard Edwin, servants of our beloved subject Adam Usk, clerk, stand indicted for that he the said Adam, together with the said Edward and Richard and others, on the next Tuesday after the Feast of All Saints, in the second year of our reign, set an ambush in the City of Westminster, in order to rob certain of our subjects, and thereupon in the said ambush a certain horse of black colour belonging to one Walter Jakes, together with a saddle and bridle, of the value of one hundred shillings, and fourteen marks<sup>1</sup> in money of the said Walter Jakes, at that time found, feloniously stole, and that the said Adam, Edward, and Richard [*existunt*] stand [convicted as] common thieves, we of our special grace,” etc.

There are several observations to be made about this somewhat remarkable document. In the first place, it is dated June 16, 1403, over 2½ years after the commission of the offence, and 17 months after Adam himself had left the country. In the second place, Adam himself is not indicted, but only his two servants Edward Usk and Richard Edwin; though Adam, as well as the two servants, are convicted as common thieves. There is no record of Adam ever having been charged with the robbery, much less tried and convicted, before he left the country in February, 1401-2. Thirdly, the pardon is made out to Edward Usk alone. It would appear therefore as if the two men were apprehended after Adam had gone abroad, and Edward Usk had turned “King’s evidence” in order to earn his pardon. Adam constantly complains of the malice of his enemies. It is a most suspicious circumstance that his

<sup>1</sup> 14 marks = £9 6s. 8d.



name should be "lugged in" into Edward Usk's indictment and pardon, when he was known to be in Rome, and that though not indicted or tried, he should be convicted as a common thief. It suggests that Adam was right in his surmise, and that an enemy had done this.

This explanation may appear somewhat strained to those who are only familiar with legal proceedings as conducted in our own day. But a criminal trial in the days of Henry IV was a very different thing from such a trial, say during the last hundred years<sup>1</sup>; those who are acquainted with the accounts given in various records of such trials in the past will find no difficulty in accepting the suggested explanation.

That Adam was guilty of some offence of a serious nature may be readily admitted. He nowhere protests his innocence; and in his petition to the King from Rome, he does not suggest that his banishment from the kingdom had been brought about by the malice of his enemies. The letter is dated Sept. 12, 1404, after he had been residing in Rome for two years. He states that he sent it "on account of the slanders of mine enemies". He states that he had the King's "leave to visit the court of Rome," that Pope Boniface had attached him to the college of the lords auditors of the sacred palace, an unpaid office, that he is anxious to be of service to the King, that he had been the King's partisan in his exile and his aider on his return, and that the King should therefore grant to him some promotion in his old age. He begs the King not to

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wylie seems to have misapprehended the nature of the proceedings. He states that "Edward Usk submitted on the 16th June, 1403, and received a provisional pardon, but the clerical Adam was subsequently (*sic*) permitted to depart for Rome" (note p. 153). Nor can I follow the meaning of the sentence: "For this they were afterwards indicted as common footpads, though it is likely they never stood their trial."

listen to those who speak evil of him, but prays God "grant you to triumph over your foes at your desire". Does that sound like the petition of a man convicted of highway robbery? Is it not the letter of a man who wants to tell the King, as delicately as may be, "Your Majesty ordered me to Rome two years ago. I am here and have some little position. Pray use my services in any way. I was well-affected to your Majesty when you were in exile. Whatever may have been once the case, I am now again a loyal subject once more. May you triumph over your foes."

Later on when the college of auditors, late in 1404, petitioned the Pope to transfer the Bishop of St. David's to the vacant see of London and to promote their colleague Adam to St. David's "my enemies declared . . . that the King would send me to prison and the gallows"—perhaps a reference to the charge of robbery on the highway. But this was after the conviction of Edward Usk in the previous year, and may supply a motive for the insertion of Adam's name in the "pardon."

Why should the King harbour resentment so long against Adam, if his offence was the comparatively trivial one (as it would be considered in those days) of robbing a man of a horse? The King had pardoned Edward Usk in June, 1403: he refused to pardon Adam till 1411. His offence must therefore have been rank, and I suggest that the King's displeasure was due to the fact that Adam had sympathised with, and probably actively abetted, the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr. It is true that there is no direct reference to his complicity in the transcript of his notes that has come down to us. Is it not a suspicious circumstance, it may be said, that Adam has carefully refrained from assigning any reason for his hurried departure to Rome? The answer is two-fold. First, Adam is not

responsible for the exact manner in which the chronicle has come down to us. The MS. is not in his handwriting, and it may have been that the transcriber thought it prudent to suppress the portion of the writer's notes which referred to his offence. Be it remembered that the state of English politics in 1450 was very confused, as the country was in the throes of the birth of the Wars of the Roses. In the second place, Adam himself may well have thought it best to bury his offence in oblivion, as far as he could, if, as I suggest, he had been guilty of treasonable trafficking with Owen Glyndwr.

The first thing to be considered is what, if any, were the relations between Adam and Glyndwr. We have seen that Adam was the leader of the Welsh faction at Oxford in 1388. He records the fact that in 1402, during Glyndwr's rebellion, the well at Builth in which Prince Llewelyn's head had been washed flowed with blood for a whole day. He is careful to note how in 1401 "a certain knight called David ap Ieuan Goch, of the county of Cardigan, who for full 20 years had fought against the Saracens with the King of Cyprus, being sent by the King of France to the King of Scotland on Owen's behalf, was taken captive by English sailors and imprisoned in the Tower of London". He mentions with evident sympathy the fate of Llewelyn ap Griffith Vaughan of Caio. He speaks with indignation of the "cowardly and treacherous" surrender of Conway Castle by William ap Tudor and Rhys ap Tudor to the King's forces. The night before the Parliament of 1401 passed "harsh" (*aspera*) laws against the Welsh, he dreamed that he himself would be afflicted, "and dreading that that day should bring me forth some mishap, I fearfully commended myself to the special governance of the Holy Ghost." He sets down every item of news that he hears, even in Rome, about the doings of Owen.

The only harsh reference to be found in the chronicle to Owen is when he, in the late summer of 1402, after the battle of Pilleth, overthrew the castle and burnt the town of Usk, Adam's native town, as well as Caerleon and Newport. "Why linger [over details]?" he says, "Like a second Assyrian, the rod of God's anger, he did deeds of unheard-of cruelty with fire and sword." Though one would naturally not expect to find any overt expressions of sympathy with Owen's rebellion in the Chronicle, I can find no single sentence in which Adam speaks "of the national hero and his following with some contempt" as his editor suggests. On the other hand there seems to be something like overt sympathy with Owen's later misfortunes when his wife and family had been captured at Harlech in 1409, and "Owen, with his only remaining son Meredith miserably lay in hiding in the open country, and in caves, and in the thickets of the mountains."

But there are two matters which, in my opinion, put Adam's complicity with Glyndwr beyond controversy. After mentioning the capture of David ap Ieuan Goch and his imprisonment in the Tower, he gives the text in full of Owen's two letters, one to the King of Scotland and the other to the Lords of Ireland. They were written on 29th November, 1401, but the messengers were captured in Ireland and beheaded. This would be at the end of 1401 or the beginning of 1402. How came Adam, who had to leave the country hurriedly on February 19th, 1402, to possess the actual text of these letters? I suggest that, in all probability, they were composed by Adam himself, and that when the letters were seized, his part in the transaction was discovered and he was forced to leave the country. Be that as it may, there is one sentence in the Chronicle which seems to me to be consistent only with the fact that for years Adam was a partisan of Owen. The Earl of

Northumberland and Lord Bardolf tried to induce Adam while they were in exile in Paris in 1407 by offers of "great advancement" to join their ill-fated enterprise which ended so disastrously at Bramham Moor on 19th February, 1408. Though Adam "often held converse with them", and so drew upon himself the wrath of King Henry, he prudently refused to join them. When the news of their death reached him, he states that "I turned my cloak, and I inclined my footsteps to my Lord of Powis, abiding the favour of the King". Though we have seen that Adam sought to be reconciled with the King while he was at Rome in 1404, and though he states that in 1406 at Bruges he besought the good offices of Richard del Brugg, Lancaster King of Arms, to a like effect, he states categorically that it was the disaster that befel the arms of Glyndwr's English allies that finally made him "turn his cloak".

But what of the proceedings against and the pardon granted to Edward Usk in 1403? Is that a mere invention? Was there no robbery of a horse in November, 1400? Of course it would be too absurd to suppose any such thing. Owen had risen in revolt in August, 1400. We know that the Welsh scholars of Oxford thronged to join him. We may well suppose that London Welshmen, ever patriotic, were equally stirred by the news. Adam of Usk, the old "dux et fautor" of the Welsh faction at Oxford 12 years before, was roused, if not into action, at least into active sympathy. What more natural than that Edward Usk, probably his nephew, should have seized a horse from Walter Jakes in Westminster in order that he and Edwin and "others" might all be mounted to ride hot-haste to Wales to join the patriot leader? Adam was not suspect at the time: but when Edward Usk and Richard Edwin were tried and convicted in 1403,

his complicity with Glyndwr was notorious and proved, and he was therefore jointly convicted, though he was not in the arraignment. Is this far-fetched? At all events it is far more probable than that a prosperous advocate and cleric, within reach of high promotion, should stoop to a vulgar and sordid act of highway robbery.

It may be as well to finish the account of the relations of Adam and Owen Glyndwr, though it is out of chronological order, before I say anything about his life at Rome. For two years, from 1406 to 1408, Adam dwelt in France and Flanders in the vain hope that he would mollify the English King. During this time he maintained himself by "serving as counsel to many bishops and abbots and princes. . . . And twice in that season, while I was sleeping, I was clean stripped, at least on the second time, even to my breeches, by certain Welshmen in whom I had placed my trust." But Adam was too loyal a Welshman and too kindly a man, to give any clue to the identity of the thieves. He merely thankfully mentions that on the same day, after he had been despoiled so ungratefully, "I had of the bounty of the aforesaid princes 120 crowns."

In 1408 he came across once more his friend the Lancaster King of Arms in Paris, who told him that the King's wrath against him waxed stronger day by day.

Wherefore I, Adam, the writer of this history, made a declaration before the same king of arms that I would feign myself Owen's man, and with my following would cross over into Wales unto him; and thence, taking my chance, I would steal away from him to my lord of Powis, to await under his care the King's favour. And so it came to pass. And this declaration saved my life.

He set out to sea, was pursued by Devon vessels, and had to put in at St. Pol de Leon, in Brittany. There he found a chapel of St. Teilo, the patron saint of his native diocese of Llandaff, and in it he daily celebrated mass.



It was an event of good omen : for St. Teilo was still capable of performing miracles. Only five years before, when Bristol invaders pillaged the church of Llandaff, the Saint performed a miracle which enabled the country people to drive them back in disorder with no small loss. Heartened by the protection of his Llandaff saint, he put out once more to sea, and this time succeeded in reaching “ the port of Barmouth, and there I hid in the hills and caves and thickets.” He was unfortunate in finding Lord Charlton of Powis away from home, and so had to remain, an old man of 54 or 55, in hiding among the bleak hills of Merioneth for many a long and anxious day,

sorely tormented with many and great perils of death and capture and false brethren, and of hunger and thirst, and passing many nights without sleep for fear of the attacks of foes. Moreover, on behalf of the same Owen, when it was found out that I had sent to my said lord for a safe-conduct, I was laid under the close restraint of pledges. But at last, when my lord had come again to his own country, and when I had gotten from him promises of leave to come unto him and to rest safe with him, I gat me by night and in secret unto him at his castle of Pool,<sup>1</sup> and there and in the parish church of the same, not daring to pass outside his domain, like a poor chaplain only getting victuals for saying mass, shunned by thankless kin and those who were once my friends, I led a life sorry enough, and how sorry God in his heart doth know.

This digression has been made necessary in order to complete the account of the relation of Adam of Usk and Owen Glyndwr. Why should Adam have gone to Glyndwr at all, unless he had been in touch with him before? How long he sojourned among the mountains of Merioneth, we have no means of knowing,—probably only a few months. The fall of the Castle of Harlech in 1409 may have facilitated his escape to the Lordship of Powis.

<sup>1</sup> Welshpool: not Pontypool, as suggested by Sir E. Maunde Thompson.

Being a Lordship Marcher, the King's writ did not run within it, and as long as he remained within its boundaries Adam was safe. At last, at the intervention of David Harlech or Holbache, M.P. for Shrewsbury, a pardon was issued to Adam on the 29th March, 1411. There can be no ground for any suggestion that Adam in any way betrayed Glyndwr. After the fall of Harlech—indeed, long before,—the great patriot's cause was hopeless. After 1409 we hear no more of him in the field. What help could an old and broken man, who had lived his life in the schools of Oxford and in the courts of England and the Continent, give to the fallen cause of Owen? Owen was hard put to it to shift for himself, and the presence of Adam would only have been a burden and a peril to him. One thing, however, I find it hard to forgive our chronicler for. He must have seen Glyndwr in the flesh, and conversed with him. He could have told us what manner of man he was, how he looked, and how he talked. Iolo Goch's line, “y gwr hir ni'th gâr Harri,” is about the only description of Glyndwr's person that we have. I would gladly exchange all the account which Adam gives of his sojourn abroad from 1402 to 1408 for just one paragraph describing the person and character of our national hero.

Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, however, is not of that opinion. “He had to leave the country, an exile,” he says, “to his own dishonour but to the advantage of the narrative of his chronicle, which from this point contains an interesting account of his adventures abroad.” To those who wish to read how within a fortnight after his entry into Rome Adam was presented by the future Pope John XXIII to the reigning Pope Boniface IX; how he was examined as to his competence as a lawyer by another future Pope Innocent VII; how he was appointed papal chaplain and auditor and had 30 great causes forthwith

assigned to him ; how the Pope was anxious to advance his interests but was baulked by the hostility of the English King, whose wrath he dared not incur ; how Adam, “ who first drew breath in the same town and of whose blood are some of the same sisterhood ”, obtained an indulgence from the Pope for the convent of nuns at Usk ; how in 1405 Pope Innocent had to fly from Rome to Viterbo owing to the riots at Rome ; how Adam was robbed of all his savings by a merchant to whom he had confided them, and had to fly to Viterbo in the guise of a sailor man ; how the Pope made fun of him but relented when he fell ill and sent his own physician, Helias the Jew, to attend upon him ; how packs of hungry wolves infested the streets of the Imperial City every night, and Adam’s reflections thereon, I can give no better advice than to refer them to the Chronicle itself. In 1406, disappointed and disillusioned, Adam left Rome for Bruges, and remained in France and Flanders for two years. Then, as we have seen, he joined Glyndwr in Merioneth, and ultimately in 1411 received the King’s pardon for adhering to the King’s enemies because he had joined Owen “ against his own will ” as well as for all other felonies.

Thus at the age of 59 Adam had to start life afresh, as poor as when he first entered Oxford as the pensioner of the Earl of March. The first use he made of his recovered liberty was to go to Shrewsbury, where he took care to have his pardon proclaimed. His old friend, Thomas Prestbury, the Abbot of Shrewsbury, whom he had released from Ludlow prison twelve years before, was still alive, and doubtless he had been active in moving the local Member of Parliament to procure the pardon. Adam does not mention by name his old friends at Shrewsbury who gave him “ horses twain and one hundred shillings to my

joy." Let us hope that the grateful Abbot was foremost among them. He hired a servant, and went hopefully to his own sweet county of Monmouth, "among old friends and kinsmen whom I had advanced and had otherwise raised up in no small degree." But alas! they not only turned the cold shoulder on their impoverished relative and benefactor: they even hurled reproaches at him. "Thence into England with trembling heart but with a cheerful countenance (he knew something of the world by this time!) I passed to visit my lords and ancient friends."

The Archbishop, his old patron, stood his friend. He—was restored to his position as advocate in the Court at Canterbury, and was preferred to the good church of Merstham in Surrey: "and like another Job, I gathered to myself servants, and books, and garments, and household goods, wherefore blessed be God for ever and ever!" He was, as he confesses, looking for further promotion, but alas! February 19th was again fatal to his hopes, for on that day in the year 1413-14—twelve years after the day of his banishment—died Archbishop Arundel, "the virtue, the lamp, the wisdom of the people, the torch and delight of the clergy, and staunch pillar of the Church of the Christian faith."

After that our chronicler seems to have surrendered his ambition. He took a fitful interest in public affairs, especially in the French expeditions and the glorious field of Agincourt. But the entries in his Chronicle become scantier as the years go on, and in 1421 they cease altogether. In November, 1414, he exchanged the living of Merstham for that of Hopesay in Shropshire, and in 1423 he exchanged Hopesay for Llangibby, two miles south of his dear native Usk. His will dated January 20th, 1429-30 is still in existence, and it was proved on March 26th of the same year. And so, some time early in 1430, between

January 20th and March 26th, Adam of Usk entered into well-earned rest, stricken in years, surrounded by his kin, and in sight of his native town. He directed his body to be buried in the Parish Church of Usk, to which as well as to the Vicar he bequeathed legacies. A brother and a sister, named Joan, were also beneficiaries, and must therefore have survived him. He gives small legacies also to a round dozen of his friends. Nor does he forget the nuns of Usk, nor the friars of Cardiff and Newport, nor the cathedral church of his diocese. His precious "*Polychronicon*" he bequeaths to his nephew Edward ap Adam, who is also his executor and residuary legatee. The total amount of the money legacies which are specifically mentioned is £28 6s. 8d., but we have no means at present of ascertaining the amount of the residuary estate and the value of the legacies to the nuns of Usk.

In the Parish Church of Usk, where he was buried, there still exists a brass engraved with an inscription in two lines, which is now admitted to be the epitaph of Adam of Usk. The same fatality which cast his MS. into oblivion for centuries mocked for even a longer time this last effort to achieve immortality for his name. Dr. Wotton interpreted it in the 18th century as the epitaph of one Solomon the Astrologer of pre-Saxon times. No one discovered its connection with our Chronicler before 1885, when Archdeacon Thomas made out the words "*Adam Yske.*" Sir John Rhys made a gallant attempt to decipher it, and "with the utmost diffidence," as he said, "transcribed it into modern Welsh and translated it into English." Sir John Rhys, most modest of great scholars, would be the first to admit the manifest incorrectness of some of his surmises. The third and fourth, and the seventh and eighth lines do not rhyme, as they should if they are written in the "*Mesur Cywydd.*" The

*Cynghanedd* is also faulty. Its interest lies in the fact that it is the first Welsh epitaph known.<sup>1</sup>

Adam's editor who has rescued him from oblivion and who has given us a masterly translation of his Chronicle, seems to be afraid of being taunted with the *furor biographicus*, and he has, I think, taken too poor a view both of the chronicler's character and the value of his writings. On more than one occasion he descants on his vanity in writing his Chronicle, his garrulity, and his self-complacency. I confess I can find no trace of these very human failings in his writings or in his life. He seems to me to be a singularly modest man. He wrote because he had the gift of writing in him, but it was not out of the self-esteem of Giraldus who predicted that his writings, which he read aloud in his lifetime to crowded audiences, would survive for all time. Not so our poor Adam. "God forbid," he exclaims in one passage, "that this record of my foolishness should be seen in my lifetime." Then we are told that he was credulous: he believed in portents and monsters, two-headed pigs and one-eyed men, spontaneous ringing of bells and fountains running with blood. But he was not singular in that. What man of his age did not entertain such beliefs? Sir Matthew Hale, one of our greatest judges, three centuries after believed in witchcraft. When we remember what cruel buffetings of fate he suffered, what reverses of fortune, what malice and hatred and ingratitude he encountered, it is wonderful how serene and unembittered he remained to the end. I can recall only one instance where he harshly condemned an individual by name. In spite of the fact that Lady Abergavenny was sister to his beloved Archbishop Arundel, he

<sup>1</sup> I suppress my own conjectured version of the meaning of the epitaph now that Sir John Morris-Jones has supplied an authoritative and conclusive rendering of the text. (See pp. 113-134.)



roundly calls her a "Jezebel." He had to start life afresh no less than four times. Just when he had attained the dignity of the Civil Chair at Oxford, he had to relinquish it in order to try his fortunes at the Courts. No sooner had he attained a leading position as an advocate, than he was banished to Rome. At the very moment when he was saving money as one of the papal auditors, a riot broke out, his banker defrauded him, thieves robbed him, and he had to fly the city disguised as a sailor. Sick of Rome and her tumults and her rogueries he started in practice in Flanders and France, and again began to amass money. He was then robbed on two occasions by his own countrymen. After bitter travail he was at length pardoned, and resumed his practice at the Courts. No sooner had he his foot once more on the ladder of promotion than his patron died. He accepted the inevitable with cheerful content. His Christian philosophy was a sufficient shield to ward off all the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. As he put it on one occasion, "With Job I cried, 'Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?' " He suffered much through his love of Wales.—Condemn, if you will, his indiscretion at the Oxford riots; but it was his fiery zeal for the honour of Wales that impelled him to that fatal course. Blame him, you worldly-wise men, because at the moment when the great prizes of life, so-called, were within his grasp, he took up the foredoomed cause of Owen Glyndwr, and so brought stark ruin upon himself: but he did it, not from selfish motives, but for sheer love of Wales. Call him a fool, after all his experience of the world, for trusting two gangs of thieving Welshmen on the Continent: but he trusted them because they were Welsh, and he did not visit the crimes of a few persons on the little country from which he sprang. His simple faith in human nature was never shattered.—

Immediately he received his pardon, he made haste to go to his beloved Usk expecting to be met with open arms. His friends and kinsmen repaid his ancient kindnesses to them with ingratitude, contumely, and abuse ; yet it was to Usk that he returned in his old age, he heaped coals of fire on those who had despitefully entreated him by bequeathing legacies to them in his last will and testament, it was in the Parish Church of his native town, not in the Church of Llangibby of which he was minister, that he directed his mortal remains to lie, and it was in Welsh, which had never earned him a mark or a noble all his life, but which he loved as he loved all things Welsh, that he, the first of all mortal men, enjoined that his name and memory should be kept green and fragrant for ever.

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# Cultural Bases.

## A Study of the Tudor Period in Wales.

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RELYING upon official distortions, unaware of the existence of any opposing evidence, and not only unable to deal with such, but quite prepared, with a mere definition of "sources," to deny its very existence, it is perhaps not unnatural that the average English writer on historical subjects should consider Wales to have been little better than a land of savages before the introduction into its affairs of an English official element. "A geisio foch, gwich a glyw." But the timidity of Welshmen who, in the teeth of all the evidence to the contrary, repeat the same view, is really amazing. Or, perhaps, merely amusing.

There is no matter with regard to which this exhibition of English limitation and Welsh imitation is more observable than the condition of Wales before and after the complete extinction of its political independence by that very adventurous family, the Tudors.

Touching the general question of human development, it must, of course, be fully admitted that pre-Tudor Wales was not without many serious defects. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there were in Wales outlaws, marauders and desperate characters without a doubt. So there were in England and other countries, and Wales

was neither better nor worse. The essential question is whether there was something else. And there was.

The fact that the Welsh people were uneasy under alien repression is in itself no proof of faithlessness or depravity. It is evidence rather of a laudable independence, for the possession of which some of their descendants might be none the worse. Evidence coming from the garrison towns, though pompously raised to the dignity of "legal" and "documentary" material, is, all the same, the evidence of men whose advantage it was to make their admitted enemies appear as black as possible; and willingly to accept the garrison man as judge, jury and witness is the mark of national enslavement rather than rational detachment. Even the evidence of a later work like "The History of the Gwydir Family" should be heavily discounted, as being the glorification of the record of a family of notorious native land-grabbers, whose methods, generally praised by a servile class of bardic dependents, are more honestly recounted by Thomas Prys, also a man of the ruling class, who occasionally, in falling out with convention, fell in with conviction.<sup>1</sup> Life outside the garrison towns is supposed to have been wild and reckless. No doubt there was plenty in it that was so, but was it utterly devoid of all traces of a life once legally ordered? It was not.

Even the outlaw or brigand may perchance have been quite up to the level of those to whom he refused to sub-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Prys wrote a poem to John Wynn, making a request for the gift of a sword. The sword was not given, whereupon Prys wrote another poem, in the course of which he gives some details of the land-grabbing methods of Wynn, who is described as having been a miser, except in the matter of food and drink. His method seems to have been to involve others in financial embarrassments, then to offer as a kinsman to assist them, and so to become possessed of their properties. See Appendix I.

mit. We certainly have the evidence of poems that these men were brave, generous and true—qualities for which a Robin Hood may be admired. They patronised bards and minstrels and were kind to the poor, regarded themselves as the keepers of the culture of their race. In fact, all the evidence warrants the conclusion that they were of the type of the Gaelic chiefs described by Stevenson in “Kidnapped,” who have won the admiration even of some “historical” writers. The bards refer to the garrison men, “*gwyr y caerau*,” with the contempt of free men for slaves. What was called law in the towns was not law to them. The towns were there for the perpetration and perpetuation of injustice. What was lawlessness from the point of view of the town was justice outside, and violence was the method of both, as it is the method of opposing cultures to-day. When you read these poems, you are convinced that you have to do, not with a wild race of thieves and robbers, but with men who still cherished the marks of a civilisation, who liked poetry and song, who practised courtesy and hospitality, who preferred carrying their lives in their hands to the comparative safety of slavery. To live dangerously in wild places, with contempt for the cringing attitude of the “*bwrdais*,” was not merely a matter of compulsion. Ifan ap Gruffydd Leiaf describes the life of Dafydd ap Siencyn, of Nan Conwy, and his followers, whom he calls “*adar o greim*,” derisively adopting and half translating the garrison term, “birds of crime,” no doubt. Yet what sort of men were these “*adar o greim*?” Dafydd ap Siencyn is described as of the stock of Rhys Gethin, as the real lord of Rhos; his court, roofed with green twigs, was like Merlin’s glass house; its halls were above the bright waters of the glen, groves of holly were its portcullises; with him were armed young men, of the Trojan race; they had hounds and wine,

and blades of Gascon steel ; they ate sitting on the ground, and lived on vegetables and wine.<sup>1</sup> Tudur Penllyn wrote to the same person a poem in which he describes the life of these outlaws. One plainly discerns that its freedom and danger appealed to him. Dafydd lives in the sheltered forest, he is tall Kai of the green trees and the foliage ; his castle is the grove, his towers are the oaks of the glade ; he hunted the stags, was a skilful and tried warrior, than whom Roland had never met with greater adventures ; he was king in his own land, Gwynedd was at his back and he had followers in the South ; safe-conduct might have been good, but the forest was better ; towns and defences might be good, but best of all were the glens and the green crags ; eight score kinsmen formed the guard of Dafydd, and eight hundred of them were faithful to him.<sup>2</sup> Another bard, of whose name there is no certainty, describes the outlaws who had entertained him at a place called Rhyd Goch. They were patrons of minstrels and friends of the poor ; haughty but fine-looking men and generous ; the green earth was their table, water from the rocks their drink. They are advised to avoid white-livered persons for the sake of their own safety.<sup>3</sup>

Reckless these men were, without a doubt, but neither by the standards of their own time nor by those of ours were they common thieves and murderers. To convict them of being so, we must be prepared to judge by a standard not yet recognised, and for attempting to recognise which men have recently been imprisoned, crucified and otherwise put to death. Men who prided themselves in knowing their pedigrees for generations, in being ready to fight and to die for the freedom which was their ancestors' and which they claimed for themselves have at least

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix IV.



the right to be judged by something better than the names bestowed upon them by their enemies. Such men, in Serbia, for instance, during the war, were the heroes of the press in the allied countries. If Welsh culture had had free development, the names of some of these men would have lived in romance and song, quite as deservedly as the names of Brutus, Alexander, Charlemagne, Roland, and others, certainly known to them as heroes, for precisely the risks which they were taking themselves. Of life in a garrison town in Wales, we have naturally no description by any Welsh bards, mere "adar o greim," "rogues and vagabonds," etc. But Robert Leiaf, one of them, tells us something of the garrison life at Calais, where there were many young Welshmen. What he suggests as to the character of that life disposes us to think that the outlaw life must have been in some respects better from the point of view of order, even if the other was a matter of "law and order."<sup>1</sup>

If it had not been for Wales, and this survival of the spirit of its Celtic culture, England would never have been blest (or otherwise) with Tudor rule. The wave on the crest of which the Tudors came into power was certainly due to the upheaval of a Brythonic cultural activity. Whether it was coloured by Geoffrey of Monmouth's manipulation of traditional material or not does not really matter. The whole body of bardic literature down to the Tudor period, at any rate, shows that Welsh patriotism was almost a purely dynastic conception. Scores of vaticinatory poems prove this to have been the fact. To say that the country was in a state of anarchy is largely true. To say that this was anything but the natural effect of repression is mere muddle-headedness. To treat the segregation and conciliation of a privileged class as the

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix V.

settlement of a cultural problem is still worse. There was a common belief that Wales would regain supremacy ; alleged prophecies were expounded and expanded, believed in and fought for.

Without in any way essaying to deal here with the general and most interesting question of vaticination, some conclusions arrived at in the course of a study of these poems extending over a period of twenty years may be indicated. In many poems, the Brud Book is referred to specifically. Meredydd ap Rhys describes it as an ancient, dilapidated book, written on goatskin, filled with the " mad song of Merddin " and " the secret of Gwion Bach," the sayings of Adda Fras, and others, supposed to have been of oracular authority. Often the bards quarrel with the Brud Book, charging it with false prophecy ; yet it is clear that most of them had an invincible belief in its claims ; that they were irresistibly swayed by it ; that they lived in an atmosphere of expectation, a psychological state from the analysis of which modern communities might learn something of the highest importance. Their bestiary terms are numerous, including the lion, bear, wolf, bull, ass, mole, weasel, boar, ram, cat, eagle, raven, owl, hawk, swallow, wren, and dove. Spring, summer, autumn and winter are among the terms employed, and the signs referred to are very numerous. Men looked to the four quarters and seasons for signs ; sold their cattle to buy arms ; neglected to cultivate their lands. Territorial and historical names and incidents were used to stimulate motive energy ; mystification was practised ; one is convinced that the bards were the instruments of an obscure but profound racial instinct. All this implies the existence of a widespread belief in fore-knowledge, connected, no doubt, with ancient magic and divination. The vaticinatory activity of the period preceding the Tudor struggle

must have been immense, and to ignore all this activity and material whilst claiming to write the history of the period denotes an utter incapacity for modern scientific research. It is plain also that this habit of vaticination was intentionally used for a purpose, just as the press in modern times is controlled for the production of required emotions. Bardism was the controlled journalism of the fifteenth century.

It is no use whatever to point out the supposed futility of all this activity—men honestly believe in futilities even yet, and still fight and die for them. What in life is called futility is often much more like fatality. Supposed prophecies and signs swayed some military minds in the Boer struggle, for instance, and in the great European war as well. The sensible thing to do is to find out why men do such things, and that cannot be done if the only admissible evidence is to be of the character of official admissions and mere records. Men fought and died for such futilities in Wales because there was a long tradition, an intense national culture at the back of it all. This national culture was a tribal matter, much more really democratic in character than the modern opportunist exploitation of effete monarchy for political purposes. Whether vaticination is nonsense or not, the Welsh were actually fighting for the crown of Cadwaladr, and they did not care so much who should wear it, so long as he was supposed to be of Welsh blood. In the beginning of the struggle, their allegiance vacillated between the claims of the two English factions. What brought them over finally to the Tudor side was a supreme Tudor effort. There is bardic evidence of a tour of Wales by Richmond, who did not fail to make use of all the beliefs found amongst a credulous people for the purpose of advancing his own cause. They believed that a Tudor victory, for instance, would have meant the hege-

mony of Wales, not mere absorption of Wales by England. Lewis Glyn Cothi,<sup>1</sup> a bardic writer certainly above the literary level of any writer of his type in England at the time, Dafydd Llwyd ap Llywelyn,<sup>2</sup> and many others, prove this conclusively. I could fill pages with evidence of this statement, but content myself with the quotations from the two bards referred to. Before the death of Henry VIII., if not indeed much earlier, some of these bards had found out that the Tudors had never meant Wales to be anything more than a pawn in the game, however they may have at first flattered Welsh sentiment. Llywelyn ap Hywel wrote a "Complaint" of the treatment of the Welsh people by Henry VII. "Woe unto us," he says, "powerless oaks, of the race of Camber, how valueless are we! Mere weeds amongst lords, we are only the servants of the men of Mona [the family of Tudur, of Penmynydd, Anglesey]. Though each of them come from the two sons and the two infants, better in the sight of Jasper and Harri are the men of the North than our men."<sup>3</sup> This must have been fairly early in the struggle, though the poem foreshadows some of the subsequent developments. Later, Dafydd Llwyd ap Llywelyn, one of the most fiery of the Brud bards, also discovered that his hopes had not been well-founded.<sup>4</sup>

But apart from this dynastic conception of independence and nationhood, ridiculous enough to some of us, at least, there had been and still was in Wales a cultural activity which was the real cause of it, and that is the fact ignored by English-trained writers on history. I submit that this activity is the only material thing in a history of Wales meant to be read by emancipated intelligence and independent humanity. The life reflected in the poems of

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VI.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix VII.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix VIII.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix IX.

the fifteenth century is not that of a country in a barbarous state. There must have been considerable wealth, mental alertness, habits inseparable from a cultural tradition, interest in study and devotion to it. The better informed of the bards were acquainted with the ideas of their period with regard to man and nature; they knew the politics of their time, they reflect policies not yet matured; their vocabulary is open to all influences, their language receptive and expansive; without ceasing to be thoroughly Welsh they are not yet members of a vassal race, cut off from the rest of Western Europe; class servility they may show, but there is no trace of race servility in their poems—the production of that characteristic was the crowning glory of the Tudor policy! If Wales had been allowed to develop its life in its own way, it would have done so. Through the struggles, sordid and paltry enough, no doubt, of small territorial princes and rulers, it would ultimately have gained national unity—Owain Glyn Dwr would already have given it Universities and a free Church, Iolo Goch and Sion Cent would have burst the bonds of class exclusivism and prejudice. It is natural to suppose as well that its literature generally would have continued to develop as it had done, in spite of all difficulties, down to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, influenced, that is to say, by Western European culture generally. Before the extinction of Welsh independence, the language was not a mere patois but a highly polished literary medium and an effective instrument of culture. In the Book of Taliesin, for instance, we find proof of the existence of Welsh versions of some Alexander and Hercules poems, from the material known as the Epic of Antiquity; riddle elements in the early poetry imply an acquaintance with the study of natural phenomena; there are fragments of treatises on astronomy, translations of historical material

and romances, a mass of religious material, including evidence of the existence of a version of the four Gospels, going back to the 13th century at least, and a translation of the five books of Moses, earlier than any English version ; fable literature, metrical codes, etc. Even after the extinction of political independence, cultural contact with the Continent still continued, and was only broken by the effect of the Tudor policy of Anglicisation. The Catholic writers of the sixteenth century translated works from Continental languages, and were besides finer Welsh scholars than even the undoubtedly good and clever men who found it practicable to obtain their positions by accommodating their own religious views to the political exigencies of the times. Then came the completion of the subjugation of a naturally free people with the addition of a religious aspect to the wall between them and the outside world. And from that day, the result becomes evident to us, if we dare judge for ourselves. There was an end to the development of Welsh culture. It continued to make a pathetic struggle, it is true, but what sort of a chance had it? Even those faithful enough to Wales, in a sentimental way, regarded the old culture as vulgar and outworn. They began to treat the springs of native cultural activity as superstition, and thus, material which, to-day, would have been regarded as of the highest value, was swept away. Edmund Prys, for instance, was a man who loved his mother tongue well, and who did much for it, but to him, there was no Welsh culture, and no basis for such culture in Wales. That culture, or basis, was represented in his time, however imperfectly, by Wiliam Cynwal, for instance, a man who lacked the general training of Prys, but who certainly was his equal in natural gift, wisdom, gentlemanliness, and even satirical power and capacity for development. Yet, Prys told Cynwal that



if he wanted a degree, he ought to go to the schools for it, that is, there was only one thing which could be called culture, and that was what he had obtained himself, in England. The struggle has continued down to this day. There is practically no difference between the attitudes of Prys and Cynwal, on the one hand, and those of the academic and the traditional bards on the other—one judges by an arrested, thwarted, undeveloped traditional standard, and the other by a standard, equally traditional, which, if it is not in all respects what it should be, has not suffered from persecution at least. It is the struggle between the persecuted and the prosecuted. Even as things are, however, the modern academic standard provides us with the best possible evidence against the devastating influence of the Tudor policy of political extinction and the imposition of outside domination. The old traditional conception of a national culture, even though its natural leaders were Anglicised and attached by favours to the English crown, even though the fighting elements were drained into army and navy, was strong enough to refuse to be utterly absorbed. It was strong enough itself to absorb and to make its own champions out of men of English descent, like the families of Rosindale, Salesbury, Birkenshaw, Myddelton, Holland, Basset, Swardwal, and many others, who became bards and Welsh scholars. Even in the last century, the same thing occurred—the champions of the Welsh cause were often men of English descent—Ashtons, Bebbs, Bryans, Doughtons, Everetts, Gees, Knowleses, Millses, Saundersons, etc. The bards clung to old-time traditions, and generally had the outlook of a past social state; yet, whenever they were influenced by the Continent, they did not fail to respond. The tale is certainly a remarkable one.

And as soon as Welsh study had any sort of chance,

in the persons of Dr. Lewis Edwards, Sir John Rhys, Emrys ap Iwan, and a few others, towards the middle of the last century, what happened? They went back at once for their models—where? To the period described by the historians as the period of anarchy and lawlessness preceding the Tudor attempt to complete the Anglicisation of Wales. And immediately that connection is resumed, there is, at least, a new and more fruitful period in the history of Welsh literature and culture. It may, of course, be the last kick. In any case, it will remain as a permanent and pathetic protest against the enslavement of races. England, of course, although that country has never really counted in the intellectual life of Western Europe, still has a great literature and wide culture; but their influence upon Wales, from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, has been utterly baneful, partly because of incompatibility of character, mostly because of their employment as a repressive instrument. All that is really fruitful in Welsh literature during that period is due to Continental rather than English inspiration—the later romances, Dafydd ap Gwilym, Dr. Sion Dafydd Rhys (whose literary work has not yet been edited), Dr. Gruffydd Roberts, Dr. Morys Clynnog, Dr. Rosier Smith, Morgan Llwyd, Ellis Wynne, Morgan ab Ioan Rhys, Iolo Morganwg, Tomas Glyn Cothi, Eryron Gwyllt Walia, John Jones Glan y Gors, Talhaearn, Carnhuanawc (the friend of Lamartine and Legonidec), Gwilym Hiraethog (who corresponded with Mazzini), Dr. Lewis Edwards, Emrys ap Iwan, Dr. Pan Jones. All that Wales ever learnt from England is an intolerable pomposity of diction.

But once Welshmen found it possible to ignore the English barrier between themselves and the Continent, to become acquainted with Continental thought and art, there is, at any rate, a difference at once, a scholarly in-

terest, a literary and dramatic activity which owe nothing to England, and a corresponding break-away from the English religious and political groupings which have exercised so devastating an influence upon the life of Wales for such a long time. Against English culture, as such, there is nothing to say. Against the political domination which would impose it upon everybody, regardless of all considerations and to the detriment and damage of other populations, everything is to be said, especially when that attitude is slavishly assumed by members of a submerged nationality. The Tudor policy of pretending that Welshmen were Englishmen may have been kindly meant, and it may have been better than the other way of repression, but to become sentimental over the supposition that it converted a land of wild anarchy into a perfect Paradise where ever since there has not been the slightest cause for complaint or the least deflection from that policy, is matter for laughter. If it did all that is claimed for it by the apologists of English domination, then the struggle for Welsh culture has been nothing but an unnecessary piece of sentimentality; our national colleges, even as they are, only mean unwarranted expenditure; and the talk of Welsh Home Rule is mere nonsense. English culture, I repeat, is all right; there are many admirable qualities in it; but for a thousand years, it has failed to absorb Welsh culture, represented by a small, thinly-populated country, and even though that tract has been successively deluged with outside elements. The Cultural Basis then remains, and is effective even yet.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In view of recent writings on the above and similar subjects it may be stated here that Professor Gwynn Jones' Paper was written early in the year 1920.—V.E.

## APPENDICES.

(Texts, with critical emendations based upon various readings. Principal source indicated in each case. MS. readings, involving any uncertainty, given below. Translations aim at giving the literal meaning of the originals.)

## I.

*Llyfr Ystrad Alun, p. 69.*

- 1 . . . Ymwared i'r holl wledydd  
Yn Nan Conwy fwyfwy fydd,
- 3 a haelion wŷr, hoewlan wedd,  
mawr a gawn ym mro Gwynedd,
- 5 ac yn eu mysg gwn fy mod,  
siwrnai iawn, yn swrn hynod,
- 7 o'r rhai'n i gyd, lle rhown gais,  
ar gynnydd, er a genais,
- 9 ni welais, gofynnais ged,  
yn dwyn coel ond un caled.
- 11 gŵr yw hwn o'r goreu had,  
a geid yn fawr i godiad,
- 13 eiliais wawd, heb les ydoedd,  
o Fair wen! mor ofer oedd;
- 15 canu i gerdd, cynnyg urddas,  
canu 'n frau am gleddau glas;
- 17 a dwyn ei âch, denen waith,  
a'i dilyn i'r ddwy dalaith;
- 19 ac er hyn, mewn gwir hanes,  
ni chawn i draw o'i law les!
- 21 ni bu 'rioed un a brydodd,  
clod i'r un caled o'i rodd,
- 23 nac ychwaith, unwaith, anael  
yn byw'n hir, am na bai'n hael!
- 25 nid hael hwn, nôd hawl henwyd,  
hynod yw fo, ond o'i fwyd;
- 27 fo gynnal tâl gwraig y tŷ—  
ni ddiolchwn i hwn hymy!
- 29 di-hael i'w gael, gŵyr Dnw gwyn,  
ofer ydyw i ofyn;
- 31 o'i ganmol, diles fesur,  
o'i foli, daw fel y dur;
- 33 hynod a fydd tafod teg,—  
hael yw'r gŵr, ail i'r garreg;

- 35 un o eryrod Eryri  
ydyw'n wir, a nodwn i ;  
37 a'r pennaf, cryfaf crafanc,  
a fyn i bart ar fin banc ;  
39 llyna walch, llawen i wg,  
ewin galed o'n golwg ;  
41 od a un oll dan i wedd,  
nid a ennyd o'i 'winedd ;  
43 ni ddorai glod ym mrodir,  
gwe sy deg, heb gwys o dir !  
45 pe cai dir teirsir, a'r tai,  
am arian, fo'u cymerai ;  
47 o daw gŵr ffol, digariad,  
at hwn i werthu tref tad,  
49 ni bydd arno i'w dreulio draw  
eisieu arian i'w siriau ;  
51 dywed wrtho heb dewi  
y geiriau teg "Câr wyt ti !"   
53 i gâr yw pob dyn gorwyllt  
a fyddo ar wario'n wyllt,  
55 a phan ddarffo selio y sydd,  
a'n grin yr hen garennnydd !  
57 nid rhyfedd, myn croewedd cred,  
yna gael hwn yn galed,  
59 Carreg y Walch, rhyfalch rhyw,  
a'i caledodd, coel ydyw !  
61 ond rhyfeddod hynod hyn  
yn ddiarbed i'w dderbyn,  
63 na bai'n hael i'w gael mewn gwedd  
genau o Owain Gwynedd ?  
65 tebyg ydyw, medd tybiwr, '  
ac unfath â'r gath yw'r gŵr—  
67 i'w chiniaw, hon a chwennych  
bysg yn saig, bes cai yn sych,  
69 ac ni châr, aufoesgar fin,  
awch awydd, wlychu i hewin !  
71 felly cawn fy llew cynnar,  
fel y gath, i fawl a gâr,  
73 ac ni châr miw er gwiwgerdd  
dalw am gannu mo'i gerdd  
75 rhwydd achos yr haedd dduchan  
am nacau o'i gledau glân ;  
77 pery duchan i anael  
cyd a chlod hynod i hael !

*Translation.*

... Ever, in Nan Conwy, there is deliverance for all regions, and generous great men, of comely appearance, are found in the land of Gwynedd; amongst them, I know that I am notable enough; and of all these, wherever I have made a request for any gift, in return for my song, I have seen only one miser, in a position of trust. He is a man of the best race, whose elevation is great; I wove him a song of praise—it was of no avail; blessed Mary! how useless it was! I sang his eulogy, offered him honour, a fluent song, asking for a blue steel blade; I traced his descent—ill-requited work!—and pursued it into the two territories; and yet, in very truth, I got no benefit from his hand! There never was anyone who sang the praise of a man of miserly gift, nor was there ever once a grasping person who lived long, because he would not be free! This person is not generous, notorious as he is, with regard to anything but his food; he meets the expenditure of the housewife, but I should not thank him for that! Miserly is he, as the blessed God knows, it is but useless to request anything from him; though one praise him it is vain work; though one laud him, he is like steel; marvellous is the glib tongue, and generous is he—like the stone itself; truly, I say, he is one of the Eagles of Eryri, chief and strongest of claw, who will have his portion on the edge of the crag! He is a hawk whose frown is masked with pleasantry, whose sharp claw is out of our sight; if ever one come under his notice, not for once may he get out of his clutches; he cares not for any well-woven praise anywhere, unless it yield him a furrow of land! If for money he could obtain the lands and dwellings of three counties, he would take them; if a foolish, friendless man come to him to sell his patrimony, he shall not want for money to be consumed and to cheer himself; this person tells him without cease, speaking in fair words, “Thou art a kinsman!” Every reckless man, bent upon squandering, is his kinsman, and when all that there is has been secured, the old kinship withers away! It is not strange, by the truth of belief, that this one is found to be hard, for the Crag of the Hawk, of relentless kind, has hardened him, it is a certainty! Is it not a great marvel, unavoidably to be acknowledged, that a true whelp of Owain Gwynedd should not be found generous in nature? As a man of fancy says, he is like the cat, which, for its dinner, would like a mess of fish, if it could be obtained dry, but will not, wretched jaw that it has, wet its claws for all its rapacity! And so I find my prompt lion like the cat, it loves to be commended, yet pussy loves not, in spite of worthy praise, to pay for the singing of the song! Justly he deserves satire for refusing the bright blade! and the satire of the miserly endures as long as the noble praise of the generous.



(Notes.)

6, siwr iawn wyf yn swrn hynod. 15, canu y gerdd. 32, ai foli draw fel y dur. 40, ewin galed im golwg. 43, ni ddoir ai glod im brodir. 44, i geisio i deg heb gwys o dir. 57, nid rhyfedd croewedd cred. 59, Carreg y Walch, a possession of the "Gwydir family". 74, dalu am ganu y gerdd.

## II.

*Llanstephan MS. 122, ff. 552-3.*

- 1 Duw i gynnal dy gynnydd,  
yn Nan Conwy fwyfwy fydd ;
- 3 gornchafieth Rhys Gethin  
sydd it', a'i lysoedd a'i win ;
- 5 mawr ydwyd, wayw marwydos,  
marchog aur rhyfelog Rhos ;
- 7 a'th wŷr a thithau herw-wst,  
adar o greim, ar dir Grwst ;
- 9 a'th lys â tho o laswydd,  
fal gwydrin dŷ Ferddin fydd ;
- 11 aml a gloyw, yn ymyl glan,  
ger y mur, gro a marian ;
- 13 parlwr uwch gloywddwr yw'ch glyn,  
porthewlis, perthi celyn ;
- 15 crug o glos caregog lan,  
cei lys derw, Cai las darian ;
- 17 gwŷr arfog ar yr orfainc,  
gwell eu ffrwyth no gallu Ffrainc ;
- 19 cyfannedd yw cefn y ddâr,—  
cŵn a heilgyrn cynhalgar,
- 21 a llysenfwyd llys Ifor,  
a gwin mwy nag eigion môr ;
- 23 a thir mawr a thrum araul,  
a glyn haf a gloyw iawn haul,
- 25 a daear bone, y daw'r bwyd,  
ag i lechu, golochwyd !
- 27 tŵr Babilon Nan Conwy  
yw a'i nyth maen o waith mwy !
- 29 Dafydd wyd, fo ddywedir  
mai dewr wyt, ail Medrod Hir ;
- 31 dy fodd, a sôn am dy faint,  
sy'n ofni Sais yn Nyfnaint !
- 33 o Gwlen draw y gwyli'r  
arwydd o ddail ar wydd îr,

35 dyro wisg, dur o Wasgwyn,  
 am dy gorff, fal mendwy gwyn;  
 37 tro, yw wayw o lwyth trywyr,  
 torf ar lled, tan arfer Llyr;  
 39 cynnal arnad Nan Conwy,  
 cymer di, o mynni, mwy!

IFAN AP GRUFFYDD LEIAF AI CANT.

*Translation.*

May God sustain thy prosperity, which shall ever be greater in Nan Conwy; the supremacy of Rhys Gethin is thine, his courts and his wine; great art thou, of the burning lance, the golden warrior-knight of Rhos; thy men and thyself, raid-loving, birds of crime in the land of Grwst! Thy court, roofed with green foliage, is like the glass house of Merlin; plentiful and bright, by the river bank, beside its walls, are the gravel and the pebbles; your glen is a parlour above the shining waters, holly bushes are its portcullises; the scarped close of a rocky bank, a court of oak is thine, green-shielded Kai; armed men upon the ridges, of greater vigour than the might of France; pleasant it is behind the oaks, where there are hounds and well-filled drinking-horns; vegetable food worthy of the court of Ivor, and wine more plentiful than the flow of the sea; mainland with a radiant ridge, a summer glade and brilliant sunlight, an earthen bank where the food is brought, and a retreat for refuge! It is the Babylonian Tower of Nan Conwy, with its rocky nest of mightier work! Dafydd art thou, and of thee it is said that thou art as brave as Medrod the tall; thy mood, and the talk of thy size makes the Saxon tremble in Devon! From far Cologne is watched the sign of leaves upon fresh groves! Cover thy body, like the White Hermit, with a garment of Gascon steel; thou, of the exploits of Llyr, with thy spear of yew, a load for three men, scatter a whole host; maintain Nan Conwy for thyself, and if thou wish, take still more!

*(Notes.)*

7, herwst, hirwst. 8, adar y greim. 11, aml a glyw ym mol glau. 12, gwr y mur gro am arian. 16, car lys derw caer las darian. 33-34, this couplet comes after 20-21 in the MS., but seems to be misplaced. The reading is also—o Gwlen draw i gwelir arwydd o ddai ar wydd ir. 37, torri wayw o lwyth trowyr (of which “o lwyth trowyr” may be rendered also “of the race of Trojans”).

III.

*Cardiff MS. 84, p. 272.*

1 Caun nos dayd, cynnes d'adail,  
 Cai Hir y coed ir a'r dail!

- 3 canol yr haf wyd, Ddafydd,  
coedwr dail, cyhyd â'r dydd ;  
5 cryfdwr a chrafanc Siancyn,  
caregog lys craig y glyn !  
7 dy gastell ydyw 'r gelli,  
derw dôl yw dy dyran di ;  
9 cynnydd ar geirw Nan Conwy,  
cerdd a saif, cai urddas hwy.  
11 glanaf y medrnd, Ddafydd,  
gerddwriaeth, helwriaeth hydd ;  
13 glain nod ar wŷr glân ydwyd,  
gloyn Duw ar bob glanwaed wyd ;  
15 dy stad a'th glod yw d' ystôr,  
Dafydd wŷr Ddafydd, Ifor ;  
17 anturiwr ar filwriaeth  
i'th farnwyd, ac nid wyd waeth ;  
19 ni wnaeth Rolant fwy antur  
na thydi, na wnaeth, â dnr !  
21 pan fo 'r sôn am ddigoniant,  
dy roi 'n uwch pob dewr a wnant ;  
23 o'r campan ymhob neuadd,  
ni'th roir yn eilwaith o radd !  
25 pand un o filwyr Llyr Llwyd,  
pau'n o frwydr, Penfro ydwyd ;  
27 nai wyd Ddafydd, loywrydd lain,  
i'r ewythr . . . Owain ;  
29 bonedd yw d'anrhydedd di,  
brodorion hirion Harri ;  
31 rhoed it' air, rhediad hiroes,  
rhwnt arglwydd Rhismwnt a'i rhoes ;  
33 o'r hynaif goreu, hanwyd,  
o Rys Gethin, Elffin wyd ;  
35 Absalon ym Meirionydd,  
a swyddog i'r gog a'r gwŷdd ;  
37 wŷr Feurig, rhag cynnig cam,  
a Chynfyn oedd eich henfam ;  
39 caredig i'r ceirw ydwyd,  
câr yr iarll, cwnneweriwr wyd ;  
41 tithau gleddau 'r arglwyddi,  
tëyrn wyt yn ein tir ni ;  
43 mae it' Wynedd yn heddwch,  
a phlaid yn y Dean fflwch ;  
45 gwylia 'r trefydd, celfydd call,  
a'r tiroedd o'r tu arall !

- 47 da yw secwndid y dydd,  
     gwell, wŷr Cadell, yw'r coedydd  
 49 da yw ffin a thref ddinas,  
     goreu yw glyn a'r graig las!  
 51 da oedd bardwn dydd bwrdais—  
     ac nid oedd waeth saeth rhag Sais!  
 53 cerwch gastell y gelli,  
     cerwch, wŷr, a'ch caro chwi!  
 55 cadw i'r dref y cced a'r drws,  
     cadw batent Coed y Betws!  
 57 wyth ugain câr i'th ogylch,  
     wyth gant o'th garant i'th gylch;  
 59 wyth gad, myn Pedr, a fedri,  
     wyth goed, a Duw, a'th geidw di!

TUDUR PENLLYN.

*Translation.*

A hundred salutations to thee, thou of the warm retreats, tall Kai of the greenwoods and the leaves! Dafydd, forester of the leaves, thou art the height of summer itself, long as the day; might and grasp of Siancyn, whose stony court is the crag of the glen! Thy castle is the grove, the oaks of the glade are thy towers; lord of the stags of Nan Conwy, thy honour shall outlive enduring song. Most skilful art thou Dafydd, in the minstrel art and the hunting of the stag; jewel supreme of all the valiant men, the butterfly [literally: God's glow-worm] of all the purest blood; thy state and fame are thy store, Dafydd, the grandson of Dafydd, the like of Ifor; thou hast been adjudged adventurous in the warrior's art, and less thou art not; Roland never accomplished greater adventures than thou, no, not with steel! When there is talk of accomplishment, they place thee above all brave men; in the feats of all courts, thou shalt not once be placed second in rank! Thou peacock of battle, verily art thou one of the warriors of Llyr Llwyd of Penfro; Dafydd of the shining free lance, thou art the nephew of . . . Owain; the ancestry of the tall brothers of Harry is thy honour; fame has been thine, conferred by the hand of the Earl of Richmond; thou art descended from the best of ancestors, the Elfin of Rhys Gethin art thou; an Absalom in Merioneth, knight of the cuckoo and the trees; thy grandmother, so that no wrong can be offered thee, was the grand-daughter of Menrig and Cynfyn; thou art beloved of the stags, kinsman of the earl, a conqueror art thou; blade of nobility, thou art a king in our land; Gwynedd is thine in peace, and thou hast a following in the bright South; skilful and wise one, do thou watch the towns and the lands on the other side; safe-conduct may be good for day-time, better,

grandson of Cadell, are the forests! Good are borders and defended towns, best are the glen and the green rocks! Pardon from the burgess court may be good—an arrow against an Englishman were no worse! Love the castle of the groves, you men, love him who loves you! Keep thou, up to the town, the forest and its entrance, hold thou the patent of Coed y Betws! Eight score kinsmen surround thee, eight hundred of thy fellows follow thee; eight battles, by the name of St. Peter, canst thou win, eight forests, and the blessing of God, preserve thee!

(Notes).

12, garwriaeth. 24, ith roir. 41, gloddau. 58, ath garant. In line 32, "rhwnt," a reading warranted by the initial consonantism of the preceding line, is manifestly borrowed from the French *ronde*.

#### IV.

*Curt Mawr MS. 5.*

Kowydd ir herwyr oedd tan goed ag a roeson fwyd ag arian i wyr wrth gerdd oedd yn myned heibio.

I'r Rhyd Goch y rhed y gwan,  
 2 os herwyr a gais arain;  
 os ynoch mae trawsineb,  
 4 am lendid, ni'ch newid neb;  
 os gair iwch, gwisgi, a ron',  
 6 yn euro telynorion,  
 awn uinnau, o chawn ennyd,  
 8 atoch i'r Rhyd Goch i gyd!  
 byd yw i gler, bowyd glân,  
 10 bod gwŷr â bwyd ag arian;  
 ansawdd iwch fwyd o unsaig,  
 12 a gwin gwyn gwreiddyn y graig,  
 a'ch bwrdd—i chwi bo urddas—  
 14 ydyw 'r lawnt a daear las!  
 digri bod dau a gai 'r bel,  
 16 dynion gwydion, yn gochel!  
 safied grym, sef Duw a'i grog,  
 18 Sion ŵyr Eiuion ariannog;  
 aed—i'w cynnal, Duw cennych—  
 20 it' ugain oes, Wateyn wych!  
 trysor, o syrr, a dyrr dart,  
 22 try yr oes at ŵyr Risiart;  
 trysorwyr, herwyr di haint,  
 24 ti a Sion, tywys henaint,  
 gwyliwch, ymgelwch yn gall,

- 26 gelweh Dduw, gweilch o ddyall ;  
 beth estyn i ddyn i ddydd ?
- 28 byw dan ofn Mab Duw'n ufydd ;  
 ymgroesweh, a haeddweh hon,
- 30 at lid, weddi y tlodion,  
 mogelweh yma golyn
- 32 a fo goeg, ag afn gwyn—  
 a choegddyn crin, ledryn crach,
- 34 o fradwr—nid afreidiach ;  
 diau y gwn mai dau gwell
- 36 dyn ag afu du 'n gyfell !  
 achwynwyr am ych hanes,
- 38 Duw a'r prins a dyrr eu pres ;  
 pan fo amau, nid gau gwir,
- 40 parod iawn y'ch pardynir !  
 maen oedd, a roes menyw wen
- 42 o'i berigl i fab Urien,  
 a main i chwithau mymwn
- 44 i'w mwynhau, fal y maen hwn ;  
 a niwl arnoch i ochel,
- 46 a llwyn o goed, a llen gel !  
 da'r byd, ym mha dir y bon',
- 48 dygweh, o'r llei bo digon ;  
 dwyn benthig, ddiddig ddeuddyn,
- 50 dwyn a rhoi, nid anair hyn !  
 hudol oedd Robin Hwd lân,
- 52 herwr a fu'n heu arian ;  
 o breibiweh, moesweh im' win,
- 54 breibiweh fal y bu Robin !  
 ysbario ansyberwyd
- 56 a wna byw'n hwy yn y byd ;  
 kneifiweh, cawn ninnau yfed,
- 58 kybyddion a Saeson sied ;  
 Crist o'ch blaen, er i fraen fron,
- 60 cerddweh, gochelweh, haelion !

. IEUAN TEW AI CANT.

*Translation.*

The weak run to Rhyd Goch, if the outlaws seek money ; if you are oppressive, for fairness there is no one to match you ; if ready praise be yours for the giving of gold to minstrels, if we may at any time, we shall all go to you at Rhyd Goch ! That there are men with food and money is good fortune for minstrels, and a pleasant life ; your food is a common mess, with the white wine of the root of the



rock; and your table—all honour to you—is the lawn and the green earth! It is a marvel that two who might carry the day, valiant men, should be in hiding! May the power of God and his cross save Sion the grandson of wealthy Einion; and to thee, brave Watkin, with the blessing of God to support them, may there be twenty lives! A treasure thou art which, angered, shall break a dart, the age turns to the grandson of Risiart; treasurers, outlaws without disgrace, thou and Sion, the flower of ancestry, take heed, hide yourselves wisely, and pray God, you hawks of intelligence; what lengthens a man's days? to live humbly in the fear of the Son of God; cross yourselves and deserve, against all vengeance, the prayer of the poor; beware of the sting of white-livered wretches, and every withered, niggardly wretch of a traitor—it were not less necessary; verily, I know that a black-livered man is twice better as a friend! Informers concerning your deeds, God and the prince shall break their attack; when there is doubt, truth is not falsity, and easily you shall be pardoned! There was a stone which a beautiful lady once gave in his peril to the son of Urien, and I would give you stones to employ, like unto that one; and a mist over you to hide you, and a grove of trees, and a magic covering! Worldly goods, wherever they may be, do you take where there is plenty; to take as a loan, you well-disposed couple, to take and to give, this is no reproach! Kind Robin Hood was a magician, an outlaw who scattered money; if you bribe, bring me wine, bribe as Robin used to bribe! To avoid discourtesy is to make life in the world longer. Do you shear misers and forfeited Saxons, so that we in turn may drink; may Christ for the sake of his pierced side protect you; prosper and be wary, you generous ones!

(Notes.)

1, ir rhed a gan. 2, a gas arian. 5, o wysg i ron. 15, drwg yw bod dav a gairrbel; dan gau ar bel. 17, safied ym grym duw ai grog, siafied grym sef duw ai grog. 19, oe cynnal. 20, yt vgain gwin. 21, o ddyr. 24, tya sion. 26, gwelwch dduw. 29, na heyddwch. 33, yma galyn. 33-34, in the text these lines precede 31-32 above. 41, maen aeth. In another copy I have used, the poem is attributed to "Watkyn ap Risiart", but the text itself makes it clear that a Watkyn, grandson of Risiart, was one of the outlaws. This other version ends with line 36.

# V.

*Llyfr Ficer Woking, p. 157.*

I Kwrs ydyw karu sawdwyr,  
kerais y Galais a'i gwŷr;

- 3 Kymru 'n ffres, kymeren Ffrainc,  
keirw Troya, kowrtwyr ieuainc ;
- 5 Kalais yn hyrio Cwlen,  
kynafon hil Kynfyn hen ;
- 7 pan gollo Kymro, a'i kais  
a'i gwel y mywn y Galais
- 9 mi a welais y milwyr  
oedd ar goll, pand oedd dda 'r gwŷr ?
- 11 selais wŷr y Galais gynt,  
sawdwyr yng Nghalais ydynt.
- 13 daw i'r ban i derbynwyr,  
i gweision gwchion a'i gwŷr ;
- 15 i'r un gaer yr â'n i gyd,  
er gwinoedd, awr ac ennyd ;
- 17 o'r gaer, pe bai rew ac ôd,  
i'r maes lle bo'r ymosod,
- 19 dal a wnant, lluniant y llais,  
dir Kwlen, deirw Kalais !
- 21 dynion a geidw y dinas,  
daear a glyn a dŵr glas ;
- 23 tref ar lwydd, lle trof i'r lan,  
tref iachus, Troya fechan ;
- 25 Kaer falch a dâl kwr o Fôn,  
klo Lloegr, nis kel lleygion ;
- 27 Duw a roes i gadw ar wŷr,  
dinas Edward dan sawdwyr ;
- 29 gwyn yn byd, gwenwyn ni bo,  
gael dynion yn gwlad yno !
- 31 ni all gwŷr ymill, o gais,  
na bygylu neb Galais ;
- 33 gyrrant hwy—a gerynt oedd—  
wŷr ymerawdr i'r moroedd ;
- 35 oes yn fyw—ni cheisiwn fach—  
ais yn ddur, weision ddewrach ?
- 37 heddyw, gyda'm gwahoddwyr—  
haelion a gwchion yw'r gwŷr—
- 39 chwerddais—a phwy ni chwaddent ?  
pan welais Galais o Gent !
- 41 gwelwn im' fuddugoliaeth,  
gweled tref yn gwylio traeth !
- 43 pob gŵr wrth y pibau, gwn,  
pob dyn, pawb â adwaenwn ;
- 45 prynwyd i'r pererinion  
osai 'n hael—Kymry sy'n hon !

47 prynwyd in'—pa ran nid oedd?  
win a bir yn aberoedd!  
49 kaer sad ni ddwg gwŷr i sêl,  
kaer gref kerrig o ryfel;  
51 kaer wen, lle ni phlyka'r ward,  
kaer gadarn kerrig Edward;  
53 ni bu'r dref heb wŷr ar draeth,  
ni bu'r wal heb wrooliaeth;  
55 ni bu Fwlen heb filwyr,  
ni bo i gwal heb i gwŷr!

ROBERT LEIA AI KANT.

*Translation.*

It is natural to love soldiers, I have loved Calais and its men; vigorous Welshmen, they would take France, stags of Troy, young courtiers; Calais, defying Cologne, whelps of the race of Kynfyn the Old; when a Welshman is lost, he who seeks him will find him at Calais! I have seen the soldiers who were missing, were not those men all well? I knew the men of Calais of old, at Calais they are all soldiers. To the battlement come its receivers, its fine officers and its men; to the one fort they all go for wines, at all seasons; from the fort, were there snow and ice, in the field where there may be attacking, they, bulls of Calais, raising the cry, hold the lands of Cologne! Men keep the stronghold, plain and glen and blue waters; a prosperous town where I land, a healthy town, a little Troy; a proud fort, worth a corner of Mona, the lock of England, laymen deny it not; God has given its keeping to men, the stronghold of Edward in the charge of warriors; happy are we—may there be no envy—to have our countrymen there; men may not win Calais by storm, none may reduce it through danger; its men—pleasant to them is the work—drive the followers of an emperor into the sea; are there anywhere alive—I would ask for no surety—braver warriors, steel-clad? To-day, with my hosts—generous and noble are they—I laughed—and who would not laugh?—when I saw Calais from Kent! I saw victory for myself, the sight of the town guarding the beach! Each one at the barrels were found, every man, all whom I knew; for the pilgrims Alsatian wine was freely bought—for they are Welshmen who are there! Wine and beer in streams were bought for us, what portion was lacking? A firm fort which men may not bring under seal, a strong, stone fortress of war; a blessed citadel where the guard bends not, the mighty stone keep of Edward; never was the town without guards on the beach, never the walls without bravery; Boulogne has never been without warriors, may the walls [of Calais] never be without men!

*(Notes.)*

7, ple i kais. 8, om gwelir yn. 13, da ywr ban. 15, i ryw gaer. 16, y gwinoedd. 18, lle bor ymryson. 22, dayar a glyw. 23, lle troir ir lan. 25, tref falch. 33, i geraint oedd. 35, ni cheisiwn fath. 43, pibau gwin. 44, pawb adweinir. 47, pa raid yn oedd.

## VI.

- 1 Y dydd ddoe, rhoed fonnod dda,  
Sax hen, ar wyr Saxonia,
- 3 ac ar y cŵn a'r gwŷr caith,  
ddialedd heddyw eilwaith;
- 5 sidan a wisgasan gynt,  
heb sidan dibais ydynt;
- 7 mae nhwy weithian mewn noethi,  
heddyw mewn aur ydd ym ni;
- 9 y sydd a welwyv o Sais  
tinbwdr, a reto, unbais;
- 11 amser Saeson a dderyw,  
mudo o Sais, madws yw,
- 13 i'r don rhag ergydion gwns,  
ho! wŷr Hors, ha, ha, 'r hwrswns!
- 15 bernir Hengist yn ddiran,  
a Rhys a wŷr riwlio 'i ran;
- 17 ni welir Sais diddirwy,  
na Saeson mewn sesiwn, mwy,
- 19 na dyn o Sais yn dwyn swydd,  
na deusais na bon diswydd!

*Translation.*

Yesterday, the good stroke of an old blade was dealt to the men of Saxonia, and upon the dogs and the villains again to-day vengeance was wreaked; of yore, they wore silk, now without silk, they are coatless; they are now in nakedness, to-day we are in gold; every rotten-rumped half-covered Saxon I see, may he be running; the sway of the Saxons is over, it is high time for them to clear out, into the wave before the firing of guns, ha! men of Horsa, ha, ha, you whoresons! Hengist shall be judged portionless, and Rhys shall know the ruling of his territory; no Saxon shall be seen free from tribute, nor Saxons any more in session, nor a single Saxon bearing office, nor any couple of them but who are officeless.

*(Notes.)*

6, heb sidan beisiau ydynt. 14, wŷr hers.

VII.

*Llanstephan MS. 133.*

- Cywydd i'r Brenin Harri 'r Seithfed.  
 Fal y gwnae Feli gan onn,  
 2 Harri, â gweywyr hirion,  
 dy law a wnaeth d'alw yn ŵr,  
 4 King Harri yw 'n cynghorwr;  
 brenin, egiuin gwennol,  
 6 Brytwn wyd, Brytaen i'w ol;  
 ym mrodïr yma 'r ydych,  
 8 ym mrwydr fawr, amherodr fyoh;  
 esgud, yn eu haur wisgoedd,  
 10 i'th eneinïaw ddeunaw 'dd oedd;  
 olew a'i werthfawr eli  
 12 a roes Duw ith aros di;  
 ni ellir, o'n ewyllys,  
 14 i chwi ddrwg, nad chwyddo 'r ys;  
 pobl Loegrwys, pawb a lygrir,  
 16 o'u brad eu hun, bwriad hir;  
 mi chynneu un wreichïonen  
 18 mwy o'r gwaed, nid mawr eu gwên.  
 cant fu, o'r rhai cyntaf oedd,  
 20 fry o'n hynaif frenhinoedd;  
 o Idwal Iwrch, adwy lân,  
 22 waethwaeth hyd heddyw weithian;  
 mynych iawn, garw meinwylch wyd,  
 24 a llonydd y'n cynllwynwyd;  
 Cymro grym, cymer y groes,  
 26 coffewch hyn, caffoch einïoes!  
 y llu â'r cyllill hirion,  
 28 bradwyr fry, a brwydr fawr hon;  
 ac yno o hyd y cawn ni  
 30 cerrig geirwon y cewri;  
 mae lle'r wyd? mwy oll yw'r hawl  
 32 a wnai Fedrod, anfeidrawl;  
 Gwrthefyr gynt, gwarth fu'r gwaith,  
 34 mor salw, dwyn Emrys eilwaith;  
 Uthr i frawd, pan aeth o'r fro,  
 36 yn wan, wedi i wenwyno;  
 Llywelyn a'r llu aelaw,  
 38 amwyll drud, ym Muallt draw!  
 i ddial twyll lddewon

- 40 y'th roed, fal wrth raid, o Fôn ;  
     trechaf yn Lloegr fu'r trichawr,  
 42 troes yn eu mysg treswn mawr ;  
     taer oedd ddechren trwy ddychryn  
 44 talu pwyth y tolpa hyn !  
     tarw aur wyt, pond hir yw'r iau  
 46 yn gorwedd ar ein gwarrau ?  
     torr bennau, ni'm tawr beunydd,  
 48 truan y'n rhoed, tro ni'n rhydd !  
     bwrw i filoedd ber foliant,  
 50 bwrw aur ser, rhag briwo'r sant !  
     buwch warddu, cyd bych urddol,  
 52 gethin-wyd, mae'n gwaith yn ol ;  
     bref fel y clywo 'r trefydd,  
 54 bloedd fawr ym mysg bleiddiau fydd ;  
     eidion, o daw i adwedd,  
 56 a fref, cyn hydref cawn hedd !  
     tarw ynghefn tir anghyfneth,  
 58 tarw gwrdd, ponid ti yw'r gwerth ?  
     torr ar draws y tir a'r drin  
 60 tua'r bedd a'r tair byddin ;  
     ti a orfydd, tau arfoll,  
 62 tir y cam mawr a'r Twrc oll ;  
     lili â lailai o wŷr  
 64 a'i choron a'i chyw eryr ;  
     o garnedd y'th goronir  
 66 drwy rad Duw draw ar y tir.  
     dwg y groes, bydd hiroesog,  
 68 dyred i gred Duw a'r grog ;  
     gyrr bobloedd hyd gaer Bablon,  
 70 gyrr i'r ffydd rhag gŵyro 'r ffon  
     od ai drwodd, dod reol,  
 72 a gad i'r ych gadw yr ol ;  
     natur eilon, nid rhylew,  
 74 llidia fal arth llwyd ei flew,  
     a gyrr i ddiawl, garw ddylaith,  
 76 y gŵr na wyr gair o'n iaith !

DDD. LLWYD LLN. AP GRUFFYDD.

*Translation.*

As Beli did with ashen spears, Harri, with long lances, thy own hand has caused thee to be called a hero, King Harri is our counsellor ; thou art a King, the offspring of the swallow, thou art a Briton



followed by Brittany; thou art here in the country, in great conflict mayest thou be an emperor; agile, in their robes of gold, there would be eighteen to anoint thee; God gave oil and his precious unguent to be ready for thee; with our will no evil can be caused to thee, but that we swell with rage; the people of England, all of them, shall be desolated through their own treachery, a long-expected consummation; no more shall one spark of their race be kindled, their joy is not great; a hundred there were, of those who were first, Kings of our ancestors; from Idwal Iwrch, an open gap, it has been ever worse to the present day; often and quietly, thou comely stag, have we been betrayed; thou Cymro of might, take thou the cross, remember this, and mayest thou have long life! [Remember] the host with the long knives, all traitors there, and a mighty battle was this; even yet we find in that place the rugged stones of the giants. Where art thou? Still greater is the incalculable contention caused by Medrod. Gwrthefyr of old, the deed was shameful; how base again was the slaying of Emrys; Uthr, his brother, when he took the territory, being weak, was afterwards poisoned; Llywelyn, with the ill-fated host, in the dire enterprise of Bnallt! To avenge the deceit of Jews, thou hast been brought, as if of necessity, from Mona; mightiest in England were the three giants, amongst them great treason befell; it is high time through terror to begin retaliation upon this mole! Thou art a golden bull, what but long is the yoke that lies upon our backs? Do thou cut off heads daily—I reckon not—we have been wretchedly placed, liberate us! Do thou cause sweet rejoicing to thousands, scatter golden stars so that the sacred one may not be offended! Ennobled though thou art, thou art [like] a furious, black-shouldered cow, [and] our work yet remains; do thou bellow until the towns hear; it shall be a great shout among the wolves; a bullock, if its hour come, shall bellow, and before autumn we shall have peace! Bull at the back of the land of misfortune, mighty bull, art thou not the reward? Hew thy way through land and battle towards the grave, with the three armies; thou shalt conquer, thine is the pledge, the land of the great wrong and the Turk altogether; the lily shall become ever less in the number of its men, with its crown and its eaglet; thou shalt be crowned from a cairn through the grace of God, for the land; take the cross, be thou long-lived, come into the belief of God and the cross! drive peoples as far as the fort of Babylon, drive them into the faith before the lowering of thy staff; if thou goest through, impose rule, and let the ox keep behind; the nature of a roebuck is not over-courageous, do thou rage like a grey-furred bear, and drive to the devil and horrible death each man who knows not a word of our tongue!

*(Notes.)*

1, fal y gwnaeth trwy feli ac on. 6, bryttaen yn ol. 8, amherodr ych.  
 9. escus. 13, ond ewyllys. 14, ond chwyddo Rys. 23, mynych ym.  
 27, cyllill hiriawn. 28, brwydr fawr iawn. 29—30, these lines come  
 after 31—32 in the MS., an evident displacement. 29, ac yno hyd y  
 gwn i. 32, o nifer od anfeidrawl. 45, tarw wyt. 50, bwrw r ser.  
 51, warddof. 57, tir anghyfaith. 58, ti yw'r gwaith. 61, tair arfoll.  
 63, lili ac lai lai ei gwyr. 74, llied fal arth. 76, y gwyr ni wyr. It will  
 be observed that the bard follows Geoffrey. Harri is the descendant  
 of Gwrthefyr and Emrys; he is to lead three armies "to the grave",  
 that is, the grave of Gwrthefyr, and is to be crowned from a cairn,  
 which recalls the cairn raised to protect the well poisoned by the  
 enemies of Emrys to procure his death. The poem was evidently  
 written before the battle of Banbury.

## VIII.

*Llanstephan MS. 118, f. 79.*

- 1 Gwae nyini, deri dirym,  
hil Gamber, mor ofer ym!
- 3 gwlyddach ymhlith arglwyddi,  
gweision gan wŷr Mon ym ni!
- 5 er bod yn dyvodd bob dyn  
o'r ddau vab a'r ddau vebyn,
- 7 mwy gan Siaspar a Harri  
yw gwŷr y Nordd na'n gwŷr ni!
- 9 a gwn yu grwn, myn y grog,  
y kilia 'r llew a'r keiliog;
- 11 a gwn, yr wyf mor gynnill,  
nad gweywyr a'ŷ gyrr ar gil—
- 13 traha meibion Uwch Conwy  
o'u tir eu hun a'u try hwy!
- 15 a rhyw dwrch, medd rhai, a dyf—  
a di gŵyn ydyw gennyf!
- 17 ymddiried mae enaid Mon  
eleni i'w elynion;
- 19 y gwir, pan el i'r velallt,  
a dyrr i hun i'r dwr hallt.
- 21 ffair ffin a phâr aflonydd  
a fflod yn seithved y sydd;
- 23 a'r wythved yn nechredydd  
i ddwr y Rhos ydd a'r hydd;
- 25 a naw mlynedd heb heddwch,  
isod i rai y sy drwch;

- 27 a gwn, pes adroddwn, draw,  
am un, y llosgir Manaw ;
- 29 prid iwch gynnen yr hengath,  
pan weler ar gwrser gath,
- 31 a ffordd hyffordd a phroffwyd,  
a lysg morwyn o'r llwyn llwyd ;
- 33 llawer hen a llu rhownir,  
a gŵr cath gyda gwraig hir ;
- 35 gwn, i ddrwg in', o ddrogan,  
mai o'r ffydd ryw ddydd ydd ân ;
- 37 rhi héfyd yn rhoi hafog,  
a'i grŵn yn erbyn y grog ;
- 39 ni châr Sais na chroes Iesu,  
na'r llenad wych, na'r llew du,
- 41 a gwae'r ieirll, os gwir a wn,  
o diriogaeth y dragwn !
- 43 ni chân gwir, achwyn girad,  
o bresen Rhonwen yn rhad,
- 45 a'i gwledd a bryn arglwyddi,  
a gwaeth yn hynafiaeth ni !
- 47 o daw llinos a rhosyn  
ar veirch, a gŵr ar varch gwyn,
- 49 gwan yw'r Nordd gan yr un iaith  
i daro wrth bedeiriaith,
- 51 a gwae'r neb a garo'r Nordd,  
a gwae Loegr a'i gwelygordd,
- 53 gweywyr hirion gŵyr, Harri  
a'i llywia yn is o'n lle ni.

LLYWELYN AP HOLL AI CANT.

*Translation.*

Woe unto us, powerless oaks, the race of Camber, how valueless are we! Mere weeds amongst lords, we are only the servants of the men of Mona. Though each of them come from the two sons and the two infants, better in the sight of Jasper and Harri are the men of the North than our men! And well I know, by the Cross, that the lion and the cock shall retreat, and I know—so skilled am I—that they shall not be driven into retreat by spears; the oppression of the sons of Uwch Conwy shall turn them out of their own lands! And a mole, as some say, shall prosper—thereby I pity not! The soul of Mona this year confides in his enemies; the truth, when he goes into the honey glade, shall break itself in the salt water; conflict and a restless spear and deceit shall be seventh; and at the eighth, with the beginning of day, the stag shall go into the water of

Rhos ; nine years without peace below there for some who are broken ; and I know, if I were to relate of one, that Manaw shall be burnt ; costly to you the strife of the old cat, when a cat is seen on a courser, and a clear way and a prophet who shall burn a maid from the grey grove ; many an old one with a long-haired host and a he-cat with a tall woman ; I know that, for evil to us and according to prophecy, some day they shall abandon the faith ; a king also causing havoc, with his crown against the cross ; a Saxon loves neither the cross of Jesus, nor the noble moon, nor the black lion, and woe to the earls from the territory of the dragon, if what I know be true ! Right shall not graciously be theirs—piteous complaint!—the feast of Rhonwen is bought from her offspring by noblemen, and worse is our seniority ! If the linnet and the rose come on horseback, with a man on a white steed, the North is weak, being of one race, to strike against four races : and woe to him who loves the North, and woe to England and its tribe, the long spears of the men of Harri shall bring it down from our station.

(Notes.)

1, daeri dirym. 18, yw gelynion. 23—24, in the MS. this couplet follows 25—26, evidently misplaced, as shown by “seithved”, “wythved” and “naw”. In one copy, a passage from this poem appears in a cywydd attributed to Dafydd Llwyd ap Llywelyn.

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# Darnau o'r Efengylau.

GAN HENRY LEWIS, M.A.,

*Athro'r Gymraeg ym Mhrifysgol Abertawe.*

CEIR y darnau hyn o'r Efengylau yn llawysgrif Havod 22, a gedwir yn Llyfrgell Rydd Caerdydd. Yn ol y Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, perthyn y llawysgrif i drydydd chwarter yr unfed ganrif ar bymtheg. Pethau diwinyddol a chrefyddol yw cynnwys y gyfrol. Ysgrifennwyd y cwbl mewn llaw sydd yn bur hawdd ei darllen ar y cyfan, a chydag eithrio ychydig iawn o farddoniaeth tua'r diwedd, y mae yma 'n agos i saith gan tudalen o ryddiaith, a llawer iawn ohoni yn perthyn yn hollol i'r cyfnod y bu'r Esgob Morgan yn gosod safonau Cymraeg Diweddar yn ei gyfieithiad o'r Ysgrhythur. Y mae'r penodau a argreffir yma yn dechreu ar dud. 391 o'r llawysgrif, ac yn ymestyn hyd dud. 413. Ar dudalennau 251-252, ceir y Pader yn Gymraeg. Nid yr un llaw a'i sgrifennodd ef ag a sgrifennodd y penodau, ond gan mai ffurf "y xi jepdor o lye" ydyw, argreffir ef yma o flaen y bennod honno. Yn yr argraffiad hwn, rhoddir y cwbl air am air fel y ceir yn y llawysgrif. Dynodir rhif tudalennau honno ar ymyl y ddalen er mwyn hwylustod wrth gyfeirio at y ffurfiau a'r brawddegau y sylwir arnynt. Defnyddiai'r sawl a ysgrifennodd y llawysgrif ddwy ffurf i ddynodi'r llythyren *s*, sef *f* ynghanol gair ac ar ddechreu gair, *σ* ar ddechreu neu ar ddiwedd gair. Hefyd digwydd tri math o *r*, ond defnyddir pob un o'r ffurfiau i olygu *r* ac *rh*. Ceir dot uwch ben y llythyren *u* yn y llawysgrif bron yn ddi-eithriad. Ni farnwyd yn werth cadw y manylion hyn wrth argraffu. Yr unig atalnod yn y testun yn y llawysgrif yw ||, a nodir hwn â | yn yr argraffiad presennol. Dangosir lle y

dechreuo tudalen newydd yn y llawysgrif drwy roi seren yn y testun.

Dywedir yn y MSS. Reports ii, 330 (nodyn) mai cyfieithiad annibynnol yw'r penodau hyn o'r Fwlgat. Nid ydyw hyn yn fanwl gywir, oherwydd credaf y gellir profi bod y cyfieithydd yn gyfarwydd iawn â Thestament Newydd Saesneg Tyndale. Cymharwyd y cyfieithiadau hyn â'r Fwlgat ac â Thestament Tyndale yn fanwl, a chredaf fod y cymariaethau a osodir isod yn dangos yn lled glir fod y cyfieithydd â'i lygad ar y Lladin ac ar y Saesneg. Nid oes yma ol cyfieithiad Cymraeg Salesbury, na Beibl yr Esgob Morgan, ac y mae'r darnau hyn yn llawer mwy diddorol oherwydd hynny. Argraffwyd Testament Newydd Tyndale y tro cyntaf yn Worms ddiwedd 1525, neu ddechreu 1526, canys dywedir ei fod ar werth yn Rhydychen cyn Chwefror 7, 1526. Cyhoeddwyd argraffiad diwygiedig ohono ar y Cyfandir yn 1534. Tua diwedd y flwyddyn 1536 yr argraffwyd ef gyntaf yn Lloegr, a hynny gan brintiwr Harri'r Wythfed. Hon oedd y gyfrol gyntaf o'r Ysgrhythur Lân a brintiwyd yn Saesneg yn Lloegr. Yn 1537, cyhoeddwyd *Beibl Matthew*—a elwid felly am fod enw Thomas Matthew ar yr wyneb-ddalen—a rhoes y brenin drwydded i werthu'r llyfr i bawb, a'i ddarllen gan bawb yn ddi-lestair. Nid oedd hwn ond adargraffiad o waith Tyndale, cyn belled ag yr aethai hwnnw o flaen ei ferthyru wrth y stanc yn y flwyddyn 1536. Yn wir, y mae'r berthynas sy rhwng cyfieithiad Tyndale a'r Beibl Saesneg, yn un â'r berthynas rhwng cyfieithiad yr Esgob Morgan a'r Beibl Cymraeg. Ni wyddys pa bryd y cyfieithwyd y darnau a roddir yma i'r Gymraeg, ond y mae'n ddigon posibl ddarfod gwneuthur hynny cyn 1567, pan ymddangosodd Testament Salesbury. Nid hwyrach y gellir bod yn fwy sier ddarfod eu cyfieithu cyn 1588, pan ymddangosodd Beibl y Dr. Morgan. Ond ni ellir penderfynu hyn, hyd yn oed petai angen am hynny.

Y mae'n bur sier bod y penodau hyn yn gyfoed â'r cyfieithiadau hynny. Ni wyddys pwy oedd y cyfieithydd, ond dengys ei iaith mai Deheuwyr oedd; sylwer, er enghraifft, ar *wi*, *llyffian* (408), *kwnnw* (406), *kwnnwch* (394).

I.

*Y Cyfieithiad.*

Crynhwir yma y rhannau a ddengys yn amlwg ddyllanwad Tyndale ar y cyfieithiad. Rhoddir hefyd y ffurfiau cyfatebol yn Nhestament Salesbury ac yn y Fwlgat, a chyfeirir at y testun Cymraeg drwy roi rhif y tudalen yn y llawysgrif.

<i>Tud.</i>	<i>Harod 22.</i>	<i>Tyndale.</i>	<i>Y Fwlgat.</i>	<i>Salesbury.</i>
391 :	y kafas yr arglwydd wybodaeth	As sone as the Lorde had knowledge	ut ergo cognouit Iesus	pan wybu yr Arglwydd
392 :	di a <i>vyynydd</i> erchi	thou <i>woldest</i> have axed	tu forsitan petisses	tudi a' ovynesyt
	ef a <i>vyynai</i> roi y ti ddyfwr o <i>rycydd</i> .	he <i>wolde</i> have geven the water <i>of lyfe</i>	dedisset tibi aquam uiuam	ef a roesei yty y dwfr bywyd
393 :	mi a wnn yn <i>hyssbys</i>	I wot <i>well</i>	scio	Gwn i
394 :	y maent hwy yn wnon ac <i>yn harod</i>	they are whyte <i>allredy</i>	albae sunt iam	gwynion ynt eius
395 :	y mae <i>dywedyd</i> yn wir	ys the <i>sayinge</i> true	est uerbum uerum	y mae'r gair yn wir (dywediat— <i>ymyl y ddalen</i> )
	<i>dywedyd</i> y wraic	for the womans <i>sayinge</i>	propter uerbum mulieris	o bleit hyn a ddywedawdd y 'wraic
	a wnaethym i <i>er joed</i>	that <i>ever</i> I did	quaecumque feci	cymeint oll a'r a wnaethym o 2

<i>Tud.</i>	<i>Havod 22.</i>	<i>Tyndale.</i>	<i>Y Fwlgat.</i>	<i>Salesbury.</i>
396 :	lle troes ef y dyfwr yn win	where he <i>tourned</i> water into wyne	ubi fecit aquam uinum	lle gwnaeth- oeddoedd ef y dwfr yn 'win
	kans yddoedd ef yn barod y varw	for he was even <i>redy to</i> <i>deye</i>	incipiebat enim mori	can ys ydd oedd e wrth vron marw
397 :	y dechroyassai ef wellhav	when he <i>began</i> to amende	in qua melius habuerit	y gwellaesei arnaw
399 :	ef a wna yn ddifai	then shall he <i>do wele</i> ynough	salus erit	e vydd holliach (gwydych)
	ti ac att gyssgv nattyriol	of the <i>naturall</i> <i>slepe</i>	de dormitione somni	am gyseiat cynthun
	moesswch y ni vyned	<i>Let vs</i> goo	eamus	Awn
	moes y ni vyned attaw ef amoes yn ni varw gidac ef	<i>Let vs</i> also goo, that we maye <i>deye</i> with him	Eamus et nos, ut moriamur cum eo	Awn nine hefyd, val y bom veirw gyd ac ef
400 :	a eisteddwys yn heddwch yny ty	sate <i>stille</i> at home	doni sedebat	a eisteddawdd yn tuy yn vvastat
402 :	na byssai varw y gwr hwm	that <i>this man</i> shulde not have <i>deyed</i>	ut et hic non moretur	val na bysei hwn varw
403 :	yr yffairiad ychaf	the <i>hye</i> prestes	pontifices	yr Archoffeiriait
	ychel yffairiad	the <i>hye</i> prest	pontifex	Archoffeiriati
404 :	y gorvyddai ar Jessu varw	that Jesus shulde <i>deye</i>	quia Iesus morigurus erat	y byddei 'r Iesu varw
	a ddaroedd y gwassgarv ar lled	which were scattered <i>abroode</i>	qui erant dispersi	yr ei a 'oysearesit
	gair llaw gwylltineb	ny to a <i>wildernes</i>	iuxta desertum	yn agos i'r diffaithvch

<i>Tud.</i>	<i>Havod 22.</i>	<i>Tyndale.</i>	<i>Y Fwlgat.</i>	<i>Salesbury.</i>
406 :	<i>yny gwelldineb</i>	<i>in wyldernes</i>	<i>in deserto</i>	<i>yn y diffeith</i>
	<i>o blegid pob maner o achwysson</i>	<i>for all manner off causes</i>	<i>quacumque ex causa</i>	<i>am bop achos</i>

Y tri thro y digwydd *Judaea* yn y Lladin, *yr iddewaeth* a geir yn y testun hwn (391, 396, 397), ac nid anodd dyfalu mai *Jewry* Tyndale a barodd hymny. *Judea* wrth gwrs sydd yn y Beibl Cymraeg, ac yn *Salesbury* ceir *Judaia*, o'r *Judaia*, o'r *Juddaia*. *Syre* (392) a *Ssyre* (396) a gyfetyb yma i *Domine* 'r Lladin ac *Arghwydd* *Salesbury*, a thybed nad *Syr* Tyndale a barodd hyn hefyd? Canfyddir yr un dylanwad yn yr esiamplau a ganlyn.

<i>Tud.</i>	<i>Havod 22.</i>	<i>Tyndale.</i>	<i>Y Fwlgat.</i>	<i>Salesbury.</i>
396 :	<i>dowch y ffordd</i>	<i>Come awaye</i>	<i>Descende</i>	<i>Dyred i wared</i>
	<i>kerdda y ffordd</i>	<i>Goo thy waye</i>	<i>Uade</i>	<i>Does ymaith</i>
	<i>aeth y ffordd</i>	<i>went his waye</i>	<i>ibat</i>	<i>aeth ymaith</i>
400 :	<i>hi aeth y ffordd</i>	<i>she went her waye</i>	<i>abiit</i>	<i>hi aeth ymaith</i>
404 :	<i>ef aeth y ffordd</i>	<i>went his waye</i>	<i>abiit</i>	<i>mynet o ddyno</i>

Nid hwyrach hefyd fod yr un duedd yn yr ymadroddion hyn :—

392 :	<i>tarddv y vynydd</i>	<i>spryngyunge vp</i>	<i>salientis</i>	<i>tarddu</i>
394 :	<i>kwnnwch y vynydd</i>	<i>lyfte vppe</i>	<i>leuate</i>	<i>derchefwch</i>
400 :	<i>a gyfyd y vynydd</i>	<i>shall ryse agayne</i>	<i>resurget</i>	<i>E gyfyt drachefyn</i>
402 :	<i>kwnnwys y vynydd</i>	<i>lifte vppe</i>	<i>eleuatis</i>	<i>derchafawdd</i>

Eto, lle y digwydd *dinas* yma (391, 394, 395, 404), ceir *ciuitatem* yn y Lladin, *dinas* yn Salesbury, a *cite* yn Tyndale. Yr un gair yn y Lladin, ac yn Salesbury, a gyfetyb i *tref* yn y testun hwn (391), ond *toune* sydd yn Tyndale. Ceir *tref* hefyd ar dud. 401, a *tref* yn Salesbury, *toune* yn Tyndale, *castellum* yn y Lladin. Eithr ar dudalen 397 *castell* a gyfetyb i *toune* Tyndale a *tref* Salesbury, a diau mai *castello* 'r Fwlgat a fu'r achos, canys prin iawn y gall hyn fod yn amgen na chyfieithu go beirriannol.

Y mae ol y Fwlgat yn weddol amlwg mewn manau ereill yn y testun, a dyma hwy.

<i>Tud.</i>	<i>Havod 22.</i>	<i>Tyndale.</i>	<i>Y Fwlgat.</i>	<i>Salesbury.</i>
395 :	y nol y <i>bregeth</i> ef y honan	because off his awne wordes	propter <i>sermonem</i> eius	o bleit hyn a ddywedawdd ef ehun
400 :	er pan <i>dlay-</i> <i>thost</i> yr byd hwn	which shall come in to the worlde	qui in mundum <i>venisti</i>	yr hwn oedd ar ddyvot i'r byt
404 :	<i>ymyddylasant</i> hwy	kept they a counsell tokedder	cogitauerunt	y cyd ymgygcoresont
405 :	yr <i>dydd</i> gwyl ychel	to the feast	ad <i>diem</i> festum	i'r wyl
410 :	gan ddangos <i>dyssgedigaeth</i> a gorchmynnav <i>dynion</i>	teachinge doc- trine which is nothing but men's precepts	docentes <i>doctrines</i> <i>mandata</i> hominum	gan ddysey yn lle dysceidaeth 'orchmynnae dynion

## II.

### *Iaith y Testun.*

Ar y cyfan, y mae 'r iaith yn bur ystwyth, ac yn nes at yr iaith lafar hyd yn oed na chyfieithiad yr Esgob Morgan. Y mae hynny wrth gwrs yn beth digon naturiol, gan mai er ei fwyn ei hun yr oedd y cyfieithydd yn gweithio yn bennaf. O blegid hynny, cadwodd aml ffurf a gyfrifid



bellach yn dafodieithol, a bu'n barotach i ysgrifennu 'r gair a lefarai yn union megis y llefarai ef nag y disgwyliid i'r Esgob wneuthur. Gwelir hyn yn amlwg yn y modd yr ymddug tuag at *-nt* ar ddiwedd gair. Y mae digon o enghreifftiau o gadw y ddwy lythyren fel y gwneir eto yn yr iaith lenyddol, ac felly nid oes angen codi esiamplau yma. Ond aeth yr iaith lafar yn drech na'r llenor droeon, a dyma 'r esiamplau a geir o *-n* yn lle *-nt* :—

athrafyon hwy (394); hwy a dybassen (399); hwy aethon (401); val y gallon hwy (402); o honyn hwy, wrthyn (403); val y gallen hwy (404, 405); yddoeddyn hwy (404); y maen hwy (407, 410); pan von (409).

Y mae dwy enghraifft o rannu 'r gwahaniaeth :—

a phann welond hwy, hwynte a ddywedassond wrtho (401).

Dyma un gair a erys fyth yn nhafodieithoedd y Dehau—*llyffan* (408).

Yn y Dosparth Byrr (tud. 31), dywed Gruffudd Roberts am y ddipton *wy*—“Os afrowiog a fydd hi, ni sai hi ond yn niwedd gair a phan ystynner y gair, nes i bod yn aildiwaetha hi a dry yn. *w.* mal gwynn gwnnach; gwinwydd, gwinwdden celwydd, celwddog”. Y mae amryw enghreifftiau o'r cyfnewidiad hwn o *wy* i *w* yn y testun :—

chwnnv (412); gwrthav (392, 396, 405), gwrthe (397); tragwddawl (392, 395, 406); gwnion (394); ywllys (394, 408); tywssoc (405); kelwddoc (413).

Cymharer hefyd :—

chwelhwi (395), klwssam (395).

Ceir *gwllldineb* (406) a *gwylltineb* (404), a digwydd *dywyll(ys)* yn 251. Ar dud. 85 o'r llawysgrif ceir *newnoc*, ac ar dud. 86 *ewllys*. Gwelir yr un cyfnewidiad ar y daith o *cychwynnu* i *cwnnu* Sir Forgannwg heddyw, a chadwyd un cam ar y daith yn *kywnnoedd* Havod 22 (406), ac esiampl o'i diwedd yn *kwnnv* (406).

Ceir *y* mewn llawer o eiriau lle *y* dylai *u* fod yn ol safonau 'r iaith lenyddol:—

kyddiedic (393); nattyriol (399); ychel, ychaf, ryfainwyr (403).

Rhoddir sain aneglur *y* fyth yn y manau hyn yn y Dehau, (ac yn *nattyriol*, *ychel* ac *ychaf* yn y Gogledd). Cymharer hefyd *byssai*, *byssit* (400), *kywyrdeb* (393), *yffairiad* (403), *yffengil* (391). Ffuriau tafodieithol, *y* mae 'n ddiau, *yw'r* rhain.

Nid oedd *y* cyfieithydd wedi llwyr ymryddhau oddi wrth ffurfiau traddodiadol Cymraeg y Canol Oesoedd, canys nid *yw'n* gyson ag ef ei hun wrth ddefnyddio *aw* neu o arddiwedd gair. Er enghraifft, yn nhrydydd person unigol gwrywol *y* rhagddodiad ceir *aw* ac *o* ganddo yn yr un geiriau, weithiau ceir yr un gair mewn dwy ffurf yn yr un llinell. Dyma grynnodeb o'r ffurfiau:—

iddaw, iddo: wrthaw, wrtho: attaw, atto: o honaw, o hono: yndo, arno, o ddiarno, ganto, trwyddo.

Gwelir yr un peth yn *y* berfenw, sef defnyddio *aw* ac *o*:—

bedyddiaw, bedyddio: kaissiaw, kaissio: gwranda, gwrando: llebyddiaw: dyhyno, cwyno, wylo, rwylo, trigio, gado, ffysto.

Defnyddia *-awl* ac *-ol* mewn ansoddeiriau:—

tragwddawl, dayarawl, nefawl, anyssbrydawl: dyffygol, nattyriol, kyfraithiol, gwrthdaithiol, anyssbrydol.

*Y* mae rhai geiriau oedd ag *aw* yn eu sill olaf yn y Canol Oesoedd a sgrifennir bob amser gydag *o* yn y testun:—

achos (391, 402, 405, 407, 409, 410); kelwddoc (413); dioc (413); diod (391); diwarnod (395, 399, 402); dwylo (403, 409, 411); ffynnon (391); trindod (405); tywssoc (405).

Un waith yn unig *y* ceir *digawn* (393).

Ond *y* peth rhyfeddaf ganddo ydyw na threiglir *ai* i *ei* byth lle *y* bo galw am hynny, oddi eithr un waith, sef *eiriav* (395). Ar dud. 411, ceir *airav*; *gairav* (412, 413). *Ym* mhob man arall, cedwir *ai* yn hollol beiriannol; er

enghraifft, *ailwaith* (391, 392, 396, 397, 400), *kaissiaw* (393, 406, 408), etc. Yr un modd, lle y sgrifennid *eu* heddyw, *ay* a geir yma:—*gwnaythyr* (391, 403, 405, 406).

### III.

#### *Ffurfiau Gramadegol.*

Cymerir y ferf ynghyntaf. Y ffurf fwyaf diddorol yw trydydd person unigol yr amser gorffennol penodol. Rhoddir yr holl hen ffurfiau yng Ngramadeg Syr John Morris Jones, tudalen 325. Y mae enghreifftiau ohonynt i gyd bron yu y testun hwn, fel y gwelir wrth y rhestr ganlynol:—

*-awdd*: atebawdd 392; kerddawdd 396; kredawdd 395, 396; pregethawdd 409; trigiawdd 398, 404; tystolaethawdd 395.

*-odd*: atebodd 409; disgynnodd 391; eisteddodd 391; entrodd 395; gofynodd 412; gwrandawodd 398; moliannodd 393; trafaelodd 395; wylodd 401.

*-as*: kafas 391; klywas 391, 396, 398, 399, 401; gwelas 401.

*-es*: kodes 401; kyffroes 401; danvones 397, 402; roddes 392.

*-is*: erchis 402; gadewis 391, 394, 397; gelwis 400, 410; gressewis 396.

*-wys*: adlygwys 396; kwnnwys 402; eisteddwys 400; ssyrthiwys 401.

Ceir ffurfiau'r amser perffaith *aeth* a *dayth*, yn dra aml, a digwydd *dywad* (= *dywedodd*), a glywir o hyd, yr un fath. Ceir ffurfiau arferol yr amser hwn o ferfau cyfansawdd o "bod", sef *kyfarvy*, *kydnaby* 397, *darvy* 401, a digwydd y ffurf *daroedd* yn 401, 402, 403, 404 (*darodd*, 391). Y mae nifer go luosog o ffurfiau gau, yn diweddu gydag *-oedd* yn lle *-odd*:—

agoroedd 402; atbeoedd 405, 406; kredoedd 395; krioedd 402; kywnnoedd 405; daissyfoedd, danvonoedd, dygoedd 394; plannoedd 410; proffwydoedd 404; rodioedd 404; ssychoedd 397; taringoedd 395; wylmentoedd 397; yfoedd, 392; yssbyssoedd 412.

Digwydd hen ffurfiau 3ydd pers. unig. amser gorberffaith *myned*, *dyfod*, a *gwneuthur* yn y testun, sef:—

athoedd 391. dathoedd 396, 399, 401, 403. gwnathoedd 396, 403.

Digwydd yr enghreifftiau canlynol o ffurfiau amser presennol y modd dibynnol gyda chytsain feddal wedi ei chaledu:—

kretto 406, dywetto 409, reko 409, rottio 398.

Cedwir *d* yn *kadwo* 413.

Ceir ffurf ganol 2 berson lluosog amser presennol *bod*—sef *ywch*—ar dud. 394, 409.

Y mae yn y testun enghreifftiau o ffurf lenyddol a ffurf lafar y rhagenw cysylltiol, sef *hwyntav* 394, 398, a *hwynte* 397, 401; *yntav* 393, 396, 400, ac *ynte* 393, 400. Ni ddigwydd y ffurf *hwythau* o gwbl. Ceir y ffurf *ve* yn 403, 411, 399 (ond *ef* yn 404, 408, 409, 411). Y mae enghreifftiau diddorol hefyd o ffurfiau personol y gwahanol ragddodiaid; e.g.,—

*yndo* (392, 401); *yndi* (398) gyda *d* yn lle *dd*.

*ganto* (407, 408), hen ffurf sy wedi parhau ar lafar gwlad.

*o hanochwi* (407), gydag *a*, ffurf a glywir o hyd (ceir *o honochwi* ar dud. 408).

*ywch* (408), yn ymyl *ychwi* (401, 404, 408, 412).

Ffurf y rhagddodiad *i* pan fo ynghyd â'r rhagenw dibynnol, 3ydd person, yw *y*—*y kynfforddi hwynt* (399), *y dad*, *y gydymaith* (408) *y llossgi* (413), *y ddysgyblon* (412).

Sylwer hefyd mai *gida* a geir bob tro (393, 395, 399, 401, 404, 405, 407).

#### IV.

##### *Cystrawen.*

Defnyddir y rhagenw perthynol *a* yn gyson iawn yn y testun, a'r unig fan lle y gadewir ef allan ydyw:—

jessu gwnnwys (402).

Nid ysgrifennir ef ychwaith o flaen berf sy'n dechreu 'n wreiddiol gydag *a*, yr hyn sy'n ddigon naturiol. Er enghraifft:—

ef adewis . . . . ac aeth (391); ef aeth attaw ac adlygwys (396); y gwr a gerddawdd . . . . ac aeth y ffordd (396); hwnn agoroedd (402).

Eithir cedwir y rhagenw o flaen *a* yn

pob vn ac a archo (408).

Sylwer hefyd ar *ac aisteddodd* (391), yn ymyl *a eisteddwys* (400).

Pan fo 'r rhagenw *a* yn sylfon, dilynnir ef yn bur gyson gan 3ydd person unigol y ferf:—

yn tadav uni a *voliannodd* (393); myfi'yr hwnn *yssydd* yn dywedyd (394); creill a *drafaelodd* (395); chwehwi a *entrodd* (395); llawer . . . . a *gredawdd* (395); yr hai *addathoedd* (401, 403); yr hai . . . . a *welssai* (403); a rai o honynt hwy *addrywad* (402); ty di *amdanvones* i (402); yr hai . . . . . *yssydd* ddrwe (408); ar haini *yssydd* yn llygrv (411).

Ceir y ffurfiau lluosog hefyd:—

yr hai a *ceddynt* (401); pob vn or dday a *ssyrthiant* (410).

Digwydd yr enghreifftiau canlynol o *ac (a)* lle nas goddefir gan y rheolau manylaf:—

bob peth *ac* a wnaythym i (395); pob peth *ac* a elo (411); pob vn *ac* a archo (408); aphwybynnac *ac* yssydd (400)—Cym. beth bynnac a erchych (400).

Fel rheol, ni threigilir cytsain flaenaf gwrthrych y ferf pan fo'n dilyn y ferf yn uniongyrchol, a phan fo'r ferf yn 3ydd person unigol, amser presennol, ac amser gorffennol penodol. Dyma 'r rheol mewn Cymraeg Canol.

a yfoedd *diod*, a yfo *diod* (392); ef a wyl *golav* (398); hwnn agoredd *llygaid*, erchis *tyyny* (402); peth wnel *lles*, pwy o honochwi a ayrech *bara* (408); ef a wna *lles* (409); a wrandawo *gairiav* duw (413).

Ceir treigliad, pa fodd bynnag, ar ol 3ydd person unigol yr amser amherffaith :—

ef a ddlyai *oddef* angav (409).

yn y frawddeg

ef addissgynnodd *vod* yn raid iddaw vned (391)

treiglr *b i v* lle nas disgwyldid, oherwydd y mae *bod* yn sylfon i'r ferf.

Ceir *vod* lle y disgwyldid *bod* yn

yn dywedyd *vod* etto iiij mis (394).

Treiglr cytsain flaenaf y sylfon pan ddêl yn union ar ol berf a fo drydydd pers. unig. yr amser amherffaith :—

y maer lle addlyai *bawb* y voliannv ef (393); yddoedd *base* yr iddewon yn agos (404)—cym. yddoedd *gwr* (405); oni bai *vod* duw gidathi (405); ve a ddawai *genvigennwr*, ef addawai *was* (411).

Ni ddilynir *pan* byth gan *y*, ond yn union gan *y* ferf *y* treiglr ei chytsain gyntaf i'r sain feddal. Ceir yr enghreifftiau ar y tudalennau canlynol—393, 395, 396, 398, 400, 401, 402, 409, 410. Ar dudalen 401, digwydd—

Aphan *y* gwelas jessu hi yn wylo.

Nid eithriad mo hyn, ond y rhagenw personol yw'r *y* yma.

Ni ddefnyddir *yr* fel cysylltair nac fel rhagenw perthynol—y ffurf hŷn *ydd* a geir bob tro.

Gwelir, felly, fod iaith a ffurfiau a chystrawen y cyfieithiad hwn yn perthyn yn agos iawn i Gymraeg y Canol Oesoedd. Y mae llawer peth sydd yn bur wahanol i'r hyn a wyddys am ryddiaith yr unfed ganrif ar bymtheg. Ar yr un pryd, rhaid bod cyfieithiad Saesneg Tyndale wedi ymddangos cyn ysgrifennu'r darnau hyn yn llawysgrif Havod 22. Felly, nid ysgrifennwyd ef cyn y flwyddyn 1526, y fan gyntaf. Awgryma'r Athro W. J. Gruffydd mai math o "gyfieithiad diwygiedig" ydyw



hwn, a bod y cyfieithiad gwreiddiol yn hŷn na'r unfed ganrif ar bymtheg. Gwnaethpwyd hwnnw o'r Fwlgat, ac yna diwygiwyd ef wedi i'r Testament Saesneg ymddangos, a'i wneuthur yn fwy cyson â'r darlleniad Saesneg nag y gallai cyfieithiad o'r Fwlgat fod. Eithr ni ddiwygiwyd pob peth, a hynny a gyfrif am y brawddegau a ddifynnwyd uchod, lle y gwelir bod y Gymraeg yn llawer nes i'r Fwlgat nag i'r Saesneg. Esboniai hyn y pethau a nodwyd am y cyfieithiad dan II, ac y mae'r esboniad hwn yn debycach na bod y sawl a sgrifennodd y darnau hyn yn defnyddio'r Lladin a'r Saesneg yr un pryd wrth gyfieithu.

## V.

### Y TESTUN.

#### *Llawysgrif Havod 22.*

IOAN IV. Hyma yfengil or bedwredd siepdor o john.

- Tud. 391. Yn yr amsser gynt y kafas yr arglwydd wybodaeth y modd y klywas y ffarassens j jessu wnaythyr bedydd a bedyddiaw ychwanec oi ddyssgyblon na john | er naddarodd y jessu vedyddio neb onid iddyssgyblon | Ef adewis yr iddewaeth ac aeth ailwaith y alalia ac ef addissgynnodd vod yn raid iddaw vyned trwy le a elwid ssamaria ac yna y dayth ef y ddinas o ssamaria a elwit ssichar gair llaw y goressgynn ar kyfoeth a roddes jago i siosseph y vab ef | ac yno yddoedd ffynnon jago | a jessu yna a oedd ddyffygiol oi siwrnai ac aisteddodd wrth y ffynnon kans amgylch chwech ar y gloch oedd hynny Ac yna y dayth gwraic o ssamaria y gyrchv dwr yr ffynnon Ac yna y dywad jessu wrthi Moes y mi ddiod | kans ef a athoedd y ddyssgyblon ef yr dref y bryny bwyd ac yna y dywad y wraic o ssamaria wrtho ef paham yddwyd ti athithav yn iddew yn Tud. 392. \* erchi diod y mi a minav yn wraic o ssamaria o achos nad ydiw yr iddewon yn kidssynnyait ar ssamaritans a jessu atebawdd ac addwyd wrthi hithav bett vayd ti yn kyddnabod anregion duw ai wrthav aphwy yssydd yn dywedyd wrthyd ti moes y mi ddiod | di a vynydd erchi iddaw ef

ddiod ac ef a vynnai roi y ti ddyfwr o vywyd | ac y dywad  
y wraic wrthaw yntav | syre nid oes genyf i ddim y ti y  
dynnyr dwfr achos ymaer ffynnon yn ddyfwn | aphle y  
mae genyt ti ddyfwr o vywyd a wytti yn vwy non tad ni  
jago yr hwnn a roddes y ni y ffynnon honn ac a yfoedd  
diod o honi y hvnan ai blant ai anifailiait | jessu atte-  
bawdd ac addywad wrthi hithav pwy bynnac a yfo diod or  
dyfwr hynn ef addaw iddaw ef ssyched ailwaith | Eithr  
pwy bynnac a yfo or dwfr a roddwyf i iddaw niddaw iddo  
ssyched byth tragwddawl kans y dyfwr a roddwyf i iddaw ef

Tud. 393. y vywyd tragwydd \* Y wraic a ddywad wrthaw yntav Syre  
dyrro y mi beth or dwfr hynny val na bo ssyched arnaf ac  
na bo raid y mi ddyfod yma yn ol dwr | yna jessu addywad  
wrthi hithav | kerdda di a galw dy wr a dabre yma | Y  
wraic addywad wrtho ynte nid oes y mi vn gwr | a jessu a  
ddywad wrthi hithav | di addywedaist yn dda ddigawn nid  
oes y mi vn gwr | kans y mae y ti bymp owyr ar vn yssydd  
gidathi yn awr nid yw wr ddim o hono hynny a ddywedaist  
di yn wir | Y wraic a ddywad wrthaw ynte yddwyf i yn  
kyddnabod dy vod ti yn broffwyd | yn tadav mi a volian-  
nodd ar y mynydd hwnn ac yddywyd ti yn dywedyd mae  
yngharissalem y maer lle addlyai bawb y volianv ef | Yr  
yssbryd yw duw ar ssawl ai molianno ef raid yw yddynt y  
volianv ef mewn yssbryd achywyrdeb | y wraic a ddywad  
wrthaw yntav mi a wnn yn lyssbys y daw messias yr hwnn  
a elwir krist affan ddelo ef addywait y ni yr holl bethav

Tud. 394. kyddiedic | jessu a \* ddywad wrthi hithav myfi yr hwnn  
yssydd yn dywedyd wrthyd ti ydiw hwnnw | ac ar hynny  
llyna yddysgyblon ef yn dyfod ac yn ryfeddy y vod ef yn  
ymddiddan ar wraic ac niddywad neb wrtho beth yddwyd  
ti yny wnaythyr nev paham yddwyd ti yn ymddiddan a  
hi | Y wraic adewis yr ysten ar dwr ac aeth yr dinas ac  
a ddaythant attaw ef Athrafyon hwy velly yn dyfod ef  
addaissyfoedd y ddyssgyblon arno ef vyned y vwytta | ar  
jessu a ddywad y mae genyf i vwyd ni wddoch chwi oddi-  
wrtho | yna y dywad y dyssgyblon wrthynt y hvnaint a  
ddygoedd neb ddim bwyd iddaw ef | jessu a ddywad  
wrthynt hwyntav | vymwyd i yw kyflewni ywlls vynhad  
i yr hwnn amdanvonoedd i y ddiweddy y waith ef | ond  
yddyweh chwi yn dywedyd vod etto iij mis ac yno y mae  
y kynhayfa yn dyfod | ssyrs gwrandeweh yr hynn yddwyf  
i yn dywedyd wrthyeh chwi kwnnwch yeh llygaid y vynydd  
ac edrychweh ar y gwledydd achos y maent hwy yn wnion

ac yn barod i'r \* kynhayaf ar neb yssydd yn medi ac yn Tud. 395.  
 kymryd y taliad ac yn kassgly ffrwyth y vywyd tragwddawl  
 y bob vn orddav yr neb yssydd yn hav ac yr llall yssydd  
 yn medi ac yn llawenhav ynghyd ac y nawr y mae dywedyd  
 yn wir vod vn yn hav ar llall yn medi | Mi ach dannvonais  
 chwi y vedi y peth nichawssoch ddim trafael wrtho | eraill  
 a drafaelodd ond chwehwi a entrodd yn y llafyr hwy | a  
 llawer or ssamaritans or dinas hynny a gredawdd yr jessu  
 o barthred dywedydiad y wraic yr hwnn a dystolaethawdd  
 hi ef addywad y mi bob peth ac a wnaythym i er joed | Ac  
 yna pan ddayth y ssamaratans att jessu hwy addaissifas-  
 sant arno ef daring gidac hwynt | ac ef a daringoedd yno  
 ddav ddiwarnod ac ef a gredoedd llawer o honnynt y nol y  
 bregeth ef y hynan ac addywedassant wrth y wraic | ynawr  
 yddym ni yn kredy nid o blegid dy eiriav di achos ni ai  
 klwssam ef ynhvnain ac yddym ni yn kyddnabod mae Tud. 396.  
 hwnn yw krist yn ssikir \* kaidwad yr holl vyd | A dav  
 ddydd yn ol hynny yddaeth jessu oddyno ty agalalia | a  
 jessu addywad nadoes anrydedd y broffwyd yny wlad elhn  
 ac velly ynymann y dayth jessu y alalia y gressewis ef yr  
 hai a welssai yr holl wrthav awnathoedd ef yngharissalem  
 yny wledd achos hwynt addathoedd yr wledd Ac yna jessu  
 addayth ailwaith j gana o alalia lle troes ef y dyfwr yn  
 win ac yddoedd yno reolwr o wr mawr ai vab yn glaf  
 ynghafarnawn aphan glywas hwnnw ddyfod jessu or  
 iddewaeth y alalia ef aeth attaw ef ac adlygwys iddaw  
 ddyfod y waered y jachav y vab ef kans yddoedd ef yn  
 barod y varw yna y dywad jessu wrtho ef yna oddiaithr y  
 ti weled arwyddion a ryfeddodav ni elly di gredy | Y reolwr  
 a ddywad wrtho yntav ssyre dowch y ffordd kynn bo marw  
 vy mab i | A jessu addywad wrtho yntav | kerdda y ffordd  
 y mae dy vab di yn byw | Y gwr a gerddawdd ac a gred-  
 awdd yr gairiav a ddywad jessu wrtho ac aeth y ffordd ac  
 y boir pan oedd ef \* yn myned ef a gyfarvy y wssnaethwyr Tud. 397.  
 ac ef ac addywedassant wrtho y mae dy vab di yn byw Ac  
 yna y gofynodd ef yddynt hwy pa awr y dechroyassai ef  
 wellhav | ac y dywedassant hwynte mae y saithved awr y  
 gadewis y klefyd ef ac yno y kydnaby y dad ef mae yr awr  
 honno y dywedassai jessu wrthaw mae dy vab di yn byw |  
 ac yna ef a gredawdd ef a holl dylwyth y dy A llyna yr  
 ail gwrthe a wnaeth jessu gwedy y ddyfod ef or jddewaeth  
 y galalia.

Yvengil or vnved sieptor ar ddec o john Yr yr amsser IOAN XI.

gynt yddoedd wr yn glaf a elwid lassar o bathania o gastell mair vawdlen a martha chwiorydd lassar ar vair honno yn wir a wylmentoedd yr arglwydd ac wylment ac a ssychoedd y draed ef a gwallt yffen ac velly mair a martha addanvones att yr arglwydd gan ddywedyd arglwydd wely yrhynn a gery ymae ef yn glaf | a jessu yn wir ai gwrandaedd hwynt ac addywad wrthynt nid ydiw y klefyd yma yn varvolaeth onid y anrydeddy duw val y gallo mab

Tud. 398. duw gael y voliannv drwy y varvolaeth honno | A \* jessu yn wir ai gwrandaedd hwynt ac addywad wrthynt nid ydiw y klefyd yma yn varvolaeth onid y anrydeddy duw val y gallo mab duw gael y voliannv drwy y varvolaeth honno | A jessu yn wir a oedd yn karv martha a mair a lassar Ac am hynny pan glywas ef vod lassar yn glaf yn wir ef a drigiawdd yno ddayddydd ac yno ef a ddywad wrth y ddyssgyblon awnn ni yr iddewaeth ailwaith | ac yna y dywad y dyssgyblon wrtho yntav | Maistr y nawr ymae yr iddewon yn kaissiaw dy lebyddiaw di a tli ay yno ailwaith | jessu addywad wrthynt hwyntav onid oes daydded adwr o ddydd kans pwy bynnac a gerddo ar hyd y dydd nythdrankwydda ef ddim achos ef a wyl golav y byd hwnn | Ar ssawl a rottio ar hyd y nos ef a drankwydda achos nad oes dim golav yndi hi Ac yn ol hynny y dywad jessu wrthynt hwy y mae lassar yn kydymaith ni yn kyssgv onyd

Tud. 399. mi af val y gallwyf i y \* ddyhyno ef oi gwse | ac y dywad y dyssgyblon wrtho yntav | Arglwydd or bydd ef yn kyssgv ef a wna yn ddifai er hynny kans ef addywedassai jessu tu ac att y varvolaeth ef | onyd hwy a dybassen iddaw ef ddywedyd ti ac att gyssgv nattyriol yna y dywad jessu wrthynt hwy yn yn wir | Ef a vy varw lassar ac yddwyfi i yn llawen er ychmwyn chwi ac er mwyn nadoeddwn i yno val y gallwyf i gredy onyd er hynny moessweh y ni vyned atto ef | yna y dywad tomas yr hwnn a elwid tidimws wrth y gyfaillion moes y ni vyned attaw ef amoes yn ni varw gidac ef | yna yddaeth jessu y bethania yr lle yddoedd lassar gwedy y gladdy yny vedd er ysspedwar diwarnod affedair nos ac yddoedd bettania o vewn y ddogn at garisalem ac yna ve ddathoedd llawer or jddewon att vartha ac att vair vawdlen y kynfforddi hwynt am varvolaeth y brawd

Tud. 400. ac yna yman y klywas martha vod jessu gwedy dyfod \* yno hi aeth attaw ef | a mair vawdlen a eisteddwys yn heddwch yny ty yna y dywad martha wrth jessu arglwydd bai byssit i yna ni byssai varw ddim om brawd i ond y nawr y gwnn i beth bynnac a erchych di y dduw ef ai dyry y ti | jessu

addwyd wrthi hithav ef a gyfyd dy vrawd ti y vynydd yr ailwaith | A martha a ddywad wrthaw ynte | mi a wnn y kyfyd ef yny kyfodiad ddydd y varn | yna y dywad jessu wrthi hithav Myfi yw kyfodiad a bywyd ymyfi bettvai ef marw etto ef a vydd byw aphwybynnac ac yssydd vyw achredy y mi ny bydd ef marw byth a wytti yn kredy hynn | hithav a ddywad wrtho yntav ydwyf arglwydd yddwyf i yn kredy mae ty di yw krist mab duw byw er pan ddaythost yr byd hwnn | ac wedy dywedyd hynny hi aeth y ffordd ac a elwis ar vair ychwaer yn rin gan ddywedyd ef a ddayth Ef a ddayth dy vaistir di ac ymae ef yn galw yth ol di | ac yny man \* y klywas hi hynny hi a godes yn ddiwith ac addayth attaw ef | ac ni ddathoedd jessu etto yr dref ond yddoedd ef yny lle y daroedd y vartha gyfarvod ac ef Ae velly yr jddewon yr hai a oeddynt yny ty gida hi yny chynfforddi a phann welond hwy vair yn kwnn mor ebrwydd a hynny ac yn myned ymaes hwy aethon yny hol hi gan ddywedyd y mae hi yn myned at y bedd y gwyno ac y lefain yno | affan ddayth mair yr mann yddoedd jessu hi a ssyrthiwyd ar y gliniav a hi aeth y gyssannv ydraet gan ddywedyd wrtho arglwydd bai byssid ti yma ni byssai varw dim om brawd i | Aphan y gwelas jessu hi yn wylo a hevyt yddoedd yr jddewon yn wylo yr hai addathoedd yno gida hi | Ac yna jessu a gyffroes yndo y lvn ac addwyd pa le y darvy y ychwi ddodi lassar | hwynte addywedassond wrtho arglwydd dabrav yma athi a gav weled | ac yno y hwyloedd jessu | yna y dywad yr iddewon \* | welweh val yddoedd jessu yn karv lassar | a rai o honynt hwy addwyd | poni allyssai hwnn agoroedd llygaid y dall geni wnaythyr na byssai varw y gwr hwnn | Ac yna jessu a ddayth at y bedd ac a erchis tynnyr maen ymaith oddiarno | ac yna martha addwyd wrth jessu Arglwydd y mae ef yn drewi erbyn hynny achos ef a vy varw er ysspedwar diwarnod a jessu addwyd wrthi hithav | oni ddywedais i wrthyd ti o mynnyti gredy y kayd ti weled gogoniant duw | yno y tyuassant hwy ymaen ymaith | a jessu gwnnwys yolwe y vynydd ac addwyd vynhad y mae gennyf i ddiolch y ti am vyngwrandaw kans mi a wnn bob amsser dy vod ti ymgwrandaw i ond er mwyn y bobyl yssydd yn ssefyll in kyleh ni | mi addywedais y gair val y gallon hwy gredy mae ty di amdanvones i aphan ddaroedd iddaw ef ddywedyd hynny ef a grioedd \* yn ychel gan ddywedyd lassar dabre di allan or bedd ac yno ef addayth or bedd ai ddwylo ai draed yn rwym kans ef a ddaroedd rwyimo y wyneb ef a

Tud. 401.

Tud. 402.

Tud. 403.



- napgyn | jessu a ddywad torrweh y rwymav a gellyngweh ef yn rydd ac yno y dayth llawer or jddewon yr hai addath-oedd at vair ac a welssai yr holl wrthav a wnathoedd jessu ac hwynt a gredassant iddo ef Eithr ve aeth rai o honynt ymaith at y ffarassens ac addywedassant wrthynt hwy y peth a wnathoedd jessu | yna yddaeth yr yffairiad ychaf ar ffarissens yny kynghor ac addywedassant beth yddym ni yny wnaythyr maer gwr hwnn yn gwnaythyr llawer o ryfeddodav os gellyngwn ni ef y ddianck pawb a greda iddaw ac ef addaw y ryfainwyr ac a oressgynant yn gwlad ni ac vn o honyn hwy yr hwnn a elwir kayffas yr hwnn a oedd ychel yffairiad y vlwyddyn honno | a dywedyd
- Tud. 404. wrthyn nid ydychwi yn kyddnabod nac yn \* meddyliaid kans gwell yw ychwi y vn gwr varw dros y bobyl nacholli yr holl bobyl | a hynn a ddywad ef nid o honaw y hwn ond val yddoedd ef yn essgob y vlwyddyn hono ac ef a broffwydoedd y gorvyddai ar jessu varw dros y bobyl ac nid yn vnig dros boblach ond iddaw ef gassgly ynghyd blant duw yr hwnn a ddaroedd y gwassgarv ar lled ac or dydd hynny ymaes ymyddylasant hwy y ladd ef ac am hynny ni rodioedd jessu mwy yn gyhoeddys ymyse yr iddewon ond ef aeth y ffordd o ddyno gair llaw gwylltineb y ddinas a elwir effram ac yno y trigiawdd ef gida y ddyssgyblon ac yddoedd base yr iddewon yn agos ac ef aeth llawer o honynt y vynydd y garissalem kynn y pasc val y gallen hwy ymlanhav y hwnain ac yno yddoeddyn hwy yn kaissio
- Tud. 405. jessu ac yn kyd ymddiddan wrthynt y \* hwnain gan ssefyll yny demyl beth adybygwch chwi yn gymaint ac nad ydiw ef yn dyfod yr dydd gwyl ychel ef a roddes yr essgobiaid ar ffarissens orchymyn o bai neb a wypai pa vann y bai jessu iddo y ddangos val y gallen hwy y ddala ef.

IOAN III.

sul y drindod tri ar ddec o john.

- Yny dechrav yddoedd gwr or ffarissens a elwid nicodemws tywssoc yr iddewon a hwnnw addayth att jessu ar hyd y nos ac a ddywad wrtho Maistr ni a wddom dy ddyfod ti oddiwrth dduw kans yn wir ni aill neb wnaythyr y gwrthau hynn yr hwnn yddwyd ti yn y wnaythyr oni bai vod duw gidathi | jessu atteboedd ac addywad wrtho yn wir ac yn wir mi addywedaf wrthyd ti ~~oni bydd~~ achos y peth
- Tud. 406. a wddom ni ni ai dywedwn ar peth a welom ni ni \* tystolaethwn ac nichymerweh chwi yn tystolaeth ni o dywedais i wrthychwi bethav dayarawl ac nachredoehwi yddynt pa



vodd y kredwehwi o dywedaf i wrthych bethav nefawl ac nida neb y vynydd yr nef ond yr vn addayth y waered or nef a hwnnw yw mab y dyn yr hwnn yssydd yny nef ac megis y kywnnoedd moessen y ssarf yny gwlllineb velly y gorvydd kwennw mab y dyn megis y gallo pob dyn yr hwnn a gretto iddo na bo kolledic ond iddaw ef gaffel bywyd tragwddawl.

Y vengil y dydd y bo priodas xix o vathe.

MATH. XIX.

Yny dechrav y dayth y ffarissens att jessu y gaissio y demto ef gan ddywedyd y mae yn gyfraithol y bob gwr wrthod y wraic o blegid pob maner o achwysson | Yna y hateboedd jessu gan ddywedyd mi a wnaythym wr ac wedy y wnaythyr ef mi a wnaythym wraic \* ac addynedaais wrthynt vod yn rydd yddynt ado y tad ai mam achynal y wraic ai dilin achos y maen hwy yn ddav enait ac yn vn korff ac am hynny y nol y rwyman a wnaythym i yddwyf i yn gorchymyn drigio ynghyd a chynnal gida y gilydd.

Tud. 407.

llymar pader yn jaith ni ynhynd.

LUG. XI.

O yn tad ni yr hwn y ddwyd yny nef bendigedic yw denw dyfrenhiniaeth di y nyndi | kyflawnhaer dywylls di megis yddis nynef ar y ddayar hon | dyro y ni heddiw yn bara beynyddol | \* madde yn tresbas ywnaythom yth erbyn di megis ninay yn tres baswyr ywnaethyn yn erbyn ninay | nad yn harwain ni mewn profydigaethay | ond ryddha oddy wrth bob ryw ddrwe ac aflendid amen poed gwir.

Y Pader yn ol

Tud. 251.

Tud. 252.

Yfengil or llyn kyntaf yn wythnos y gweddiav y xi jepdor o lyc.

LUG. XIX.

Tud. 407.

Yny dechrav y dywad jessu wrth yddyssgyblon pwy bynnac o hanochwi a vai ganto gydymaith ac addelai attaw haner nos ac addywedai wrthaw ef vynghydymaith moes y ni venthic tair torth o vara achos ef addayth vynghydymddaith oddiar y ffordd attaf i ac nid oes genyfi ddim y ddodi gair y vron ef | ac yntav or tyfewn yn dywedyd ac yn atdeb | Nagafionydda arnaf i y nawr y maer drws gwedy y gav ac yddwyf inav gidam plant yny gwely ac ni allafi godi ai roddi hwynt y ti | \* ac velly or bydd y kaisswr yn aflonyddy ac yn dilin ffystor drws y gydymaith ef a gyfyd y vynydd ac ai rydd yddaw er mwyn y anostec y peth y mae ef yny gaissio ac yssydd raid iddaw wrthaw | ac am hynny yddwyf i yn dywedyd wrthych erchweh ac ef a roir yweh | ffystw;

Tud. 408.

ac ef agorir ywch yn wir pob vn ac a archo y mae ef yny gymryd ar hwnn a gaissio ef ai kaiff ac yrffystwr ef agorir pwy o honochwi a aych bara y dad | y dad a rydd iddaw ef garec nev byssgodyn | Ef a rydd iddo ef naidr yn lle pyssgodyn nev odarch ef wi ef a rydd iddaw ef lyffan | ac velly yr hai o honoch chwi yssydd ddrwc ac yn gwybod roi peth a wnel lles ych plant chwi | mwy o lawer y ry ych tad nefawl ychwi yssbryd da yr ssawl ai harecho iddaw ef.

MATH.  
XV.

Y xv kapidwl o vath maer yfengil hon.

Tud. 409.

Yn y dechrav yddaeth yssgrifennwyr ar ffarissens o garissalem att jessu gan ddywedyd paham y mae dyddyssgyblon di yn torri kyfraith ynhen daidiav ni kans nid ydynt hwy yn golchi y dwylo pan von yn bwytta y bwyd | Yna y atebodd jessu | gan ddywedyd paham yddywchi yn tori gorchymyn duw o blegid ych kyfraith chwi ychvnain achos ef addywad duw molianna dy dad athvam affwy bynnac a reko y dad nev y vam ef addlyai oddef angav ond yddywchwi yn dywedyd pwy bynnac a ddywetto wrth y dad nev y vam | kans ba beth bynac addel oddiwrthyfi ef a wna lles y ti | ar neb ni volianno y dad ai vam y mae ef yn kymryd gorchymyn duw yn watwarys er mwyn ych kyfraith chwi ychvnain | ond o blegid yr hai ffailston da jawn y pregethawdd ef och plegid chwi gan ddywedyd y bobyl hynn

Tud. 410.

\* yssydd ymoliannv i ai tafodav ond y mae y kalhonnaw hwy ymhell oddiwrthyf i achos y maent yn addoli i gan ddangos dyssgedigaeth a gorchmynnaw dynion aphan elwis jessu y kwinpani atto ef addywad wrthynt hwy | gwrandewch a dyellwch yn llwyr addywedafi wrthy chwi | Nid y peth yssydd yn myned yr genav yssydd yn llygryr dyn | yna y dayth yddyssgyblon ef yn nes ac addywedassant wrtho oni wddost di pan glywo y ffarissens y gair hynny y byddant hwy dic | jessu addywad pob impin yr hwnn ni fflannoedd vy nhad i or nef ef a diwraddir | goddefwch chwi y maen hwy yn ddaillon ac yn arwain daillon achos or bydd dall yn arwain dall arall pob vn or dday a ssyrthiant yny klawdd | yna pedr addywad wrth jessu dysc y ni y parablav yna | jessu a ddywad aydychwi etto heb ddyall hynny | velly pob peth ac a elo yr genav y mae yn

Tud. 411.

\* yn myned yr bola ac oddyno trwyddo ymaes | yn wir y peth addelo or genav ymae ef yn dyfod ymaes or galhon ar haini yssydd yn llygrv r dyn | yn wir or galhon ymaen dyfod y meddyliav drwc yn lladd y kamwelyav godineb

lledrad kam dystoliaeth regv hynn yw y pethav yssydd yn llygry r dyn ond bwytta heb olehi dwylo nidydiw hyny yn llygry dim or dyn yn lle gwir.

xiii o luc.

MATH.  
XIII.

Yr amsser gynt y dywad jessu wrth yddyssgyblon ar airav achefflybaethav megis am wr da a elai y hay y had mewn tir gwrthdaithiol Ac wedy hyny ve a ddawai genvigennwr anyssbrydol yhav ller a gwyc ynyr vn tir ac velly ef a ddawai was y gwr kyntaf y edrych a oedd y gwenith yn tyfu yn dec ac velly ef a welai y ller ar gwyc yn tyfu ymlith y gwenith ac yna yddae y gwas\* at y vaistr Tud. 412. a dywedyd maistr ni af ychwnny y gwenith ac y dynny y ller ar gwyc ymaes o honaw ef | Nagav heb y maistir gado y dyfy hyd y kynhayaf ac yno ni a dditholwn y y ller ar gwyc o vyse y gwenith ac a vyrwnn y paisswyn ar ller yr tan argwenith yr yssgyborav | Ac yna y gofynodd yddyssgyblon yr arglwydd pa ddyall oedd y gairiav hynny addywedassai yr arglwydd am yr had | Ac y dywad jessu wrthynt ychwi y roed gwybodav a chyfrinachav yr yssgythrlan ac y eraill yn dywyll onid mewn parablav a chyfflybaethav ac yna yssbysoedd jessu y gyfflybiaeth hono y ddyssgyblon addywedassai ef am y gwenith y gwr a bioedd y gwenith ydiw yn harglwydd ni jessu grist ar gwenith yn gairav duw ymlith y etholedigion Ar gwr drwe anyssbrydawl oedd y diawl yn hav y ller ar gwyc sef oedd hynny hav kelwydd achenvigen sef oedd y kynhafaf dydd y varn yr hwn ddydd y dyd yr arglydd y etholedigion \* ar y llaw Tud. 413. ddehav iddaw sef ywr haini y bobyl a wrandawo gairiav duw ac ai kadwo ni kof ar haini yw y gwenith a vwrir ir yssgyboriav sef yw hyny tyrnas gwlad nef | Y ller ar gwyc yw y bobyl gelwddoc genvigennys ac yn ddioc y wrando gairiav duw ar haini avwrir yr tan y llossgi yn fflaglav.

ac velly tervyna.

## VI.

### *Nodiadau.*

391: *goressgynn*: "meddiant, eiddo". Golygai 'r ferf i ddechreu "goncro, trechu". Yna "meddiannu drwy goncro". Felly daeth yr enw i olygu "eiddo trwy gonwest", ac yna "eiddo" neu "berchenogaeth". Cym. Mab. (arg. Rhydychen) 89: trickyei ar y orescyn.

- kyfoeth*: "gwlad" mewn Cymraeg Canol: cym. Mab. 95: holl wyrda y gyuoeth. Golygai ynghyntaf "allu"; yna "tiroedd"; yna cafodd yr ystyr presennol. Gwyddeleg, eumachta, "gallu". *siwrnai*; yn Tyndale ceir yma "iornie". Daw'r ddau air o'r Ffrangeg *ournée*. Defnyddir *siwrnai* o hyd am daith; cym.
- "Ar fy siwrne'r wyf ers dyddie,  
Tua'r brynier wyf am ffoi". Dafydd Wiliam.
- Cym. hefyd "siwrne o lo"—"a journey of coal". Golyga *siwrne* "unwaith"—"nid siwrne na dwywaith y bu e yma".  
"Siwrne dda"—"bon voyage".
- chwech ar y gloch*: Y mae'r ymadrodd hwn yn ddiddorol iawn. Clywir eto "wech ar gloch".
- kiddsynmyait*: Yr oedd *-aid* (*-eit*) yn derfyniad cyffredin iawn i'r berfenw gynt: gweler W.G. tud 390. Cym. meddyliaid 404.
- 392: *dyfwr*: Y mae tair ffurf ar y gair yn y testun: *dwfr* 392, 393; *dwr* 391, 393, 394, *dyfwr* 392, 396. Digwydd *dwfr* hefyd yn y ffurf *dyfwr*, a throes *dyfwr* yn *dyfwr*. Cym. *dyfwn* am *dwfn*, 392. Defnyddir *dyfwn* o hyd.
- 393: *addlyai*: hefyd 409. Hen ffurf *dylai* yw *dlyai*, o \* dlig—. Cym. "eu breint ac eu *dlyet*" (Meddygon Myddfai, arg. Diverres, tud 6).
- addpwaît*: 3ydd pers. unigol amser presennol. Daeth *dywed* bellach yn ffurf gyffredin, sef y ffurf dafodieithol o *dywaid*. Cym.  
Ba ddeall bwy a ddowaid  
Beth oi naws mor boeth i naid
- Bardd. W. Llŷn tud. 159.
- 394: *yr dinas*: =i'r dinas. Hefyd *or dinas hynny* 395. Gwrywaidd oedd *dinas* gynt. Felly y mae gyda Salesbury. Benywaidd yw yn y Bardd Cwse—tud. 12, y *Ddinas ddihenydd*. Ymddengys i'r gair barhau'n wrywaidd yn hwy yn y Dehau nag yn y Gogledd, a gellid tybied oddi wrth yr enghreifftiau yng ngweithiau Pant y Celyn, a ddifynnir yn y *Transactions* 1917-18, tud. 88, fod ei ryw yn dechreu newid y pryd hynny.
- 395: *dywededydiad*: Enw dansoddol wedi ei ffurfio o *dywedyd*. Cym. Mab. 45, Pa, dyweddydat oed h6m6.
- 396: *ynghafarnawn*: "in Capharnaum" yn y Fwlgat.  
*y boir*: =*heb ohir*, "yn ddi-oed".
- 397: *wylment*: o'r Lladin Diweddar, *oleamentum*.
- 400: *yn rin*: "yn gyfrinachol"; "secretly" yn Tyndale. Cym. yn Ystoria de Carolo Magno tud 4, ac *orin* geluydyt gyrru yndi llog o diefyl—sef "celfyddyd ddirgel". Gair cytras yw'r Saesneg "rune".
- 401: *dabraw*: ffurf wneuthur o *dabre* (393, 403), yr un fath â *godrau* o *godre*, *camrau* o *camre*. Ail berson unigol modd gorchmynnol "dyfod" yw *dabre*.
- 404: *ar lled*: Dyma enghraifft o gadw *ll* ar ol *r*, yr un fath ag y gwneir gydag enwau benywaidd ar ol y fannod. Cym.  
Taro ar lled trwy war y llyn  
Ysgwyd yna sgadenyn  
S.Ph.: Y Flodeugerdd Newydd 203.  
*Ar lled* a ddywedir o hyd.

- 406: *achwysson*: Hen ffurf lluosog o *achos*. Gweler W.G. 212.
- 251: Rhoddir y Pader yma fel yr ysgrifennwyd ef gyntaf. Bu rhywun yn ei "olygu" mewn inc coch. Y "golygydd" sy'n gyfrifol am roi'r "ys" yn "dywyll <sup>ys</sup>". Uwch ben *ninay* yn "megis *ninay*". ysgrifennwyd y *ddym*, ac ar ymyl y ddalen ar ol *yn* ceir *madde*, ac *yn* yr un fath o flaen *tres baswyr*. Yna croeswyd *ninay* allan. Felly y darlleniad "diwygiedig" yw—*megis y ddym ninay yn madde yn tres baswyr ywnaethym yn erbyn ninay*.
- 407: *cynghydymddaith*: *cydymddaith* oedd y ffurf gyflawn; er enghraifft, kedynteith ar dud. 104 o'r Llyfr Du. Y lluosog fyddai *cydymddeithion*. Collwyd yr *dd* yn yr unigol, a chafwyd *cydymaith*. Byrbawyd y lluosog, a throed *dd* yn *d* ar ol yr *m*, a chafwyd *cymdeithion*. Ceir ffurf gyflawn y lluosog yn Act. xix, 29—*cyd-ymdeithion* (a chyd-ymddeithion Paul—Salesbury) Yr un modd yn troes *cydymdeithas* yn *cymdeithas*; digwydd ffurf hŷn yn Salm xciv, 20 "*cyd-ymdeithas*". Gwelir y ffurf gyffredin *kydymaith* ar dud. 408
- 409: *ffailston*: lluosog o *ffalst*, o'r Saesneg "false", *ffals*.
- 411: *a ddawai*: *dawai*=denai. Ymddengys mai ffurf wneuthur yw *dawai*, wedi cymryd *daw* fel cyff. Felly y gwneir yn y De o hyd. a lleferir *dŵaf*, *dŵi*, *daw*, *dewn*, *dewch*, *dŵan*. Gall *dŵaf* er hynny fod yn *doaf*, fel yr awgryma Sir John Morris Jones i mi. Cym. MSS. Reports I (Pen. 53)—  
tud. 404, ll. 41: Morganwe ar vrys atto y *dawant*.  
" 405, ll. 4: Yna y *dawant* hyd y wold.  
Rhoddir ffurfiau cyffelyb gan y Dr. John Dafydd Rhys yn ei ramadeg; e.g.—  
tud. 101: Dawei arnabl' dy berchi.  
tud. 108: dawabh (teirgwaith).
- llerr a gweye*: Gweler, Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie I 41:—  
144. Zigannia. papi: ller  
163. dolium. gweye.  
Gweler hefyd nodyn ar *ller*, Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr, tud. 233 (arg. Wm. Pritchard Williams).

## VII.

### *Rhestr o'r Enwau Priod.*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Bathania 397, bethania 399, bethania 399.           | Iago 391, 392.                                       |
| Cafarnawn 396.                                      | Iddew 391, iddewon 392, 398, 399, 401, 403, 404.     |
| Cana 396 (gana).                                    | Iddewaeth, yr 391, 396, 397, 398.                    |
| Carissalem 393, 396 (yngha.) 399, 404 (gar.).       | Jessu 391, 392, 393 etc. (Ni cheir y fannod o gwbl). |
| Kayffas 403.  | John 391, 397, 405.                                  |
| Krist 393, 395, 400.                                | Lassar 397, 398, 399, 402, 403.                      |
| Efram 404.  | Luc 411, lyc 407.                                    |
| Ffarassens 391, 403, ffarissens 403, 405, 406, 409. | Mair Vawdden 397, 399, 400, Mair 397, 400.           |
| Galalia 396, 397. Al. 391, 396.                     | Martha 397, 398, 399, 400, 401.                      |

Mathe 406 (v.), o vath 408.

Messias 393.

Moessen 406.

Nicodemus 405.

Pedr 410.

Ryfainwyr 403.

Ssamaria 391, 392.

Ssamaritans 392, 395, ssamaratans  
395.

Ssichar 391.

Siosseph 391.

Tidimus 399.

Tomas 399.

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# The Chapter of Llandaff Cathedral, 1561=1668.

BY THE VENERABLE C. A. H. GREEN, D.D.,

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AN attempt to recover the names of former canons and dignitaries of a Cathedral Church may, in the opinion of some, be a waste of energy. But it really is not, because it is all part of the process of making the past a living reality. To think of institutions in the terms of persons rather than of law has a surer touch of humanity. And indirectly the result may prove useful to students in other lines of research. The writer of this article has found both recreation and pleasure in searching for forgotten members of Llandaff Cathedral Chapter during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He has had the advantage of transcribing all the Chapter minutes from 1573 to 1666. The information contained therein, when amplified from documents preserved at the Public Record Office and at Lambeth, or published by Browne Willis, furnishes an almost complete list of names from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the reign of Charles the Second. In setting it out, it will be convenient to start with the Prebends which were least esteemed, in the sense that the holders thereof were occasionally promoted to other stalls. This method will obviate the necessity of many explanations and cross references which otherwise might be required. Two words of caution are needed before we begin. Although we have documentary proof that each person whose name is given below was actually a member of the Chapter, yet in a few cases we can only conjecture his stall

by eliminating those stalls which we know belonged to other canons at the time. Next, there is sometimes the possibility that a canon has moved from one stall to another without the fact being recorded in the Chapter Act Book. Unfortunately the Bishop's Act Books for the period before 1660 do not exist, having been lost or destroyed. Nor have we any minute of the Chapter anterior to 1573. And many of the First Fruits Certificates, now kept in the Public Record Office, have disappeared.

#### SANCTAE CRUCIS.

The Prebend of the Holy Cross is often styled "Henry Morgan," because this was the name of the Prebendary who held it in 1535, when the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII was compiled. January, 1561, found Llewelyn Gebon in possession: Bishop Kitchin reported that he was a layman and non-resident. When we reach April, 1567, we are helped by Archbishop Parker's Register, which gives the details of the Episcopal election on the 17th of that month. Unfortunately, however, it does not specify which of the three Canons, namely, Robert Jones, Lewis Jones (junior) and John Morgan, held the three stalls of Holy Cross, Caerau and Fairwater respectively. But we can reduce the extent of the uncertainty a little; we shall see later that Robert Jones was Prebendary of Fairwater in 1576, and we may assume him to have been also in 1567. Two names, and two stalls, are thus left for co-ordination. Can we go further? Let us remember that Welsh surnames are not so determined as English. In the period before us, we find in the Chapter Acts a canon who bore the name of Thomas Evans, alias Thomas ap Evan Phillipp, alias Thomas Phillips. Bishop Kitchin<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Browne Willis states that William Blethin, afterwards Bishop was also known as William Griffith.

records the name of the Vicar of Llancarvan as Robert Jones alias Davids, and that of the parson of Llandegveth as John Williams alias Sevor. We are not, therefore, making a violent assumption if we identify John Morgan of 1567 with John Evans, Prebendary of Caerau in 1561. This leaves the stall of the Holy Cross free for Lewis Jones (junior), whom we must distinguish from his contemporary Lewis Johns or Jones, LL.B., canon of Warthacwm. The next Prebendary of St. Cross was certainly Andrew Vaen, who, we learn from the Chapter minutes, was installed on July 7th, 1575, and attended a meeting on July 26th, 1576. In the schedule attached to Bishop Blethin's Constitutions, published on January 30th, 1576, he was styled Prebendary of St. Cross, and Doctor of Divinity. But Andrew Vaen's tenure of this Prebend ceased before October 3rd, 1578,<sup>1</sup> when Thomas Williams was admitted thereto. The latter held it until after June 30th, 1598, as the record of his attendances in Chapter prove. Who was the next occupant of this stall? That Morrice Griffin, LL.B., was a member of the Chapter, and attended the meetings from June, 1599, to November, 1609, is demonstrable. But his Prebend is never mentioned. He fits in exactly between the last appearance of Thomas Williams and the admission of Richard Bassett. There is no reason why we should not rank Morrice Griffin among the Holy Cross canons. His successor was Richard Bassett,<sup>2</sup> who was admitted to this Prebend on April 22nd, 1610. His career at the Cathedral was a long one. He is mentioned year after year in the Acts from May 7th 1612, to July 1st, 1644. We learn from Browne Willis that he died in January, 1645, and was buried at Llantrisant in Glamorganshire. That he kept

<sup>1</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

the same stall to the end may be inferred from the minute of June 30th, 1636, which styles him still Prebendary of St. Cross. Richard Bassett was followed immediately by Thomas Bassett, LL.B., who was installed on June 30th, 1645. He held this Prebend through the troubles of the Commonwealth right into the reign of Charles II; and in 1663 was granted a Bonus by the Chapter because of his infirmity. When he died, his stall was conferred upon Thomas Lloyd, on May 21st, 1665; and he in his turn, on his promotion, gave place to Rice Jones, who was admitted on June 18th, 1666.

#### CAERAU.

Mr. Gwent, who held this Prebend in 1535, has left his name to it as a second title. Bishop Kitchin states that John Evans<sup>1</sup> was the Prebendary in January, 1561. In the foregoing section we assumed that John Evans is the same person as the Prebendary John Morgan mentioned in Archbishop Parker's Register on April 17th, 1567. If he is not, then he must have left the Chapter, because unless we identify him with one of the Prebendaries named in the Register, there is no room for him in 1567. And the evidence is not entirely of a negative character. When we deal with Warthacwm, we shall find "John Evans" admitted thereto in 1571. It is quite natural to suppose that the John Evans of Warthacwm is the same as he of Caerau. So we conclude that John Evans was Prebendary of Caerau from 1561 to 1571 when he was promoted. John Evans, alias Morgan, was followed by John Powell. That the latter was Prebendary of Caerau in January, 1576, we know from Bishop Blethin's schedule: and that he attended meetings from August 4th, 1573, to July 7th, 1575, is proved by the

<sup>1</sup> Rector of Itton (Kitchin).

Chapter Acts. We may reasonably place his admission in the year 1571. The First Fruits Certificates furnish us with two valuable pieces of information. John Powell vacated the Caerau Prebend for that of St. Andrew on May 5th, 1582; and his successor in the former was Rowland Kemeys,<sup>1</sup> who was collated on May 8th, 1582, but never attended Chapter (so far as we know) except once, viz., in July, 1588. When Rowland Kemeys ceased to be a Prebendary, and who succeeded him, we have no evidence. There was a canon named Thomas Morgan who attended meetings of the Chapter from May 15th, 1592, until October 2nd, 1594. He seems to fit here into the gap which lies between July, 1588, and January, 7th, 1596, the latter being the day on which John Barker<sup>2</sup> was admitted to the Prebend of Caerau. This conjecture is almost self-evident if we take the trouble to draw up a synopsis of the stalls for these years: there is only one other Prebend which has a possible opening for Thomas Morgan, and we shall deal with that when we reach it. John Barker's attendances at Chapter cover the period from June 30th, 1596, to June 30th, 1601. He was succeeded on November 24th, 1601, by William Davies, B.A.,<sup>3</sup> who had been instituted to the Vicarage of Magor on August 27th, 1597. This observation is to the point, because the institution of another Vicar of Magor on July 23rd, 1603, suggests that William Davies died at the beginning of 1603. He never attended Chapter, if the minutes are correct. His immediate successor was probably Richard Todd, for the reason that he is styled Prebendary of Caerau in the record of 1613; and his attendances at Chapter are entered from June 30th, 1603, until July 1st, 1644. He was thus canon

<sup>1</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

for at least forty-one years. A Chapter Act informs us that Hugh Lloyd, D.D., was the next Prebendary of Caerau. He was present in Chapter on June 30th, 1645, and on October 16th 1660 : on October 17th, 1660, he was elected to the vacant see of Llandaff. His successor, Thomas Maddocks, M.A., was admitted to this stall in 1660 by Royal mandate. He died on October 5th, 1665, and was succeeded on February 21st, 1666, by Thomas Lloyd, previously Prebendary of Holy Cross.

#### SANCTI ANDREAE.

Since Thomas Baschurch held the Prebend of St. Andrew in 1535 it has often been called by his name. We start with Hugh Jones, LL.B.,<sup>1</sup> who held the Prebend of Baschurch in January, 1561. He was still in that canonry on April 17th, 1567, when he was elected Bishop of Llandaff. His successor was probably Rowland Morgan, who certainly occupied the Baschurch stall on January 30th, 1576. When did he vacate it? It is significant that his name is never mentioned in the Chapter Act Book which begins in 1573. Perhaps his health was failing. If we may presume his death or resignation in 1578 we are relieved from a difficulty, which is this. Andrew Vaen ceased to hold the Prebend of the Holy Cross before October 3rd, 1578, when Thomas Williams was admitted thereto : and he did not receive the St. Dubritius stall before January 6th, 1582. Where was he during those four years? We suggest the possibility that he held the St. Andrew Prebend during the interval, that is, from 1578 until 1582. Andrew Vaen was admitted to the Prebend of St. Dubritius on January the 6th, 1582, and John Powell to that of St. Andrew on May the 5th.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Parson of Tredunnoc (Kitchin).

<sup>2</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.



Chapter Book marks John Powell's attendances from October, 1586, to August, 1592. That his successor was Richard Turberville is proved by the two facts, that he was present in Chapter on days ranging from July, 1593, to July, 1605, and that, when he resigned, the minute of the Chapter states that he held this stall. His resignation was alleged as the reason for the installation of Thomas Morris on April 12th, 1610, and therefore must have been effected shortly before. The date of the Collation of Thomas Morris was March 28th, 1610;<sup>1</sup> and he attended Chapter from June 30th, 1612, to June 30th, 1621. The Chapter Acts tell us that he resigned, and was succeeded immediately by Herbert Jones, M.A., who was installed on July 1st, 1622. The record of his attendances covers the years from January, 1624, until July 1st, 1644; nor did he change his stall, for he still occupied the same in 1636. Browne Willis preserves the story that he died on July 29th, 1644, and was buried at Llangattock-juxta-Usk. We shall show cause for thinking that Francis Davis, Prebendary of Fairwater, succeeded Herbert Jones in the Prebend of St. Andrew before the end of 1644. Francis Davis, who was present at Chapter on June 30th, 1645, was "a man of great piety and learning,"—to quote Walker. He continued to be Prebendary during the Rebellion, and at the Restoration was made Archdeacon of Llandaff. He was succeeded in the Prebend of St. Andrew by Richard Swinglehurst, who was admitted by Royal mandate, and installed on October 16th, 1660.

#### SANCTI DUBRITHI.

The alternative title of the Prebend of Saint Dubritius was "Dr. Leyson," the name of the occupant in 1535.

<sup>1</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

William Blethin, LL.D., held it in January, 1561,<sup>1</sup> and he was present in Chapter by proxy at the Episcopal election on April 17th, 1567. The Act Book records his attendance during 1574. He was consecrated to be Bishop of Llandaff on April 17th, 1575. The Crown presented to the stall then vacated a clerk called Andreas Phelipps. We owe this information to the fact that his successor's deed of collation (now in the possession of Major Albert Addams Williams of Lansor, who kindly showed it to the present writer) states that the stall was vacant "by the free resignation of Andreas Phelipps the last incumbent." The successor was John Williams, who was admitted on July 6th, 1575,<sup>2</sup> and installed the following day. He was possessed of this stall on January 30th, 1576, but became Precentor on January 6th, 1582, and on the same day Andrew Vaen (who had held successively the Prebends of Holy Cross and St. Andrew) was made Prebendary of St. Dubritius.<sup>3</sup> In this capacity Andrew Vaen attended Chapter-meetings from January 17th, 1582, to June 30th, 1599; and on August 11th, 1601, he was transferred to the Warthacwm stall. His immediate successor in the St. Dubritius Prebend was Christopher Ffryer, who was admitted on August 24th, 1601.<sup>4</sup> His first attendance at Chapter was on April 14th, 1602, and his last is recorded on June 30th, 1618. There was a visitation of the Cathedral on March 17th, 1620, and the record contains a complete list of the members of the Chapter, in which the name of Christopher Ffryer does not appear: presumably he was dead then. Did he change his stall between 1601 and 1618? Browne Willis reports that George Charleton held St. Dubritius at the time when he was elected to the see of Llandaff, namely, on December 23rd, 1617, that is,

<sup>1</sup> "Remayneth in Oxon at his studies" (Kitchin).

<sup>2</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

at the very time when Ffryer still attended the Chapter. But it is difficult to find another stall for Ffryer between 1601 and 1618. And with the synopsis of the stalls before one it is impossible to see where a place for Charleton can be found between 1610 and 1618 except perhaps in Warthacwm, to which we must refer the reader. To return to the stall of St. Dubritius; Jenkin Bowen, who was admitted to it in 1619,<sup>1</sup> held it for forty-three years, straight through the Commonwealth, until 1662, when he resigned. The name of his successor was George Parry, who was admitted, on January 7th, 1663, "in praebendam Sancti Dubricii . . . per cessionem Jenkini Bowen . . . ultimi canonici sive praebendarii ibidem vacantem."<sup>2</sup>

#### SANCTI NICOLAI.

This Prebend, as many of the rest, has a double title. It is also known as "Mr. Mayo", after the canon who held it in 1535. Hugh Lewis was the Prebendary in January, 1561, and on April 17th, 1567. The Chapter Book tells us that he was present on August 4th, 1573; and Bishop Blethin's schedule that he was still a member of the Cathedral on January 30th, 1576. There is no reason for supposing that he ceased to be before the end of 1582. On March 13th, 1583, he was succeeded by Henry Meyrick,<sup>3</sup> who attended Chapter on October 15th, 1586. Meyrick's tenure of this stall ceased on April 27th, 1588, when he passed on to the Warthacwm canonry. There is now a gap of 32 years in our documentary evidence. But there are two canons whom (after consulting the synopsis) we venture to place here. The first is a Matthew, whose Christian name is not entered, who attended Chapter in July, 1588. He may be the William

<sup>1</sup> Browne Willis, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *Llandaff Records*, vol. ii, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

Matthew, Vicar of Caerleon, mentioned in the "Horse and Armes" List of 1590.<sup>1</sup> He might well have held this stall from July, 1588, until the beginning of 1591. The second name is that of Geoffrey Price, whose stall is never mentioned, but who attended meetings of the Chapter and Visitations regularly from June 30th, 1591, to June 30th, 1620. So far as dates are concerned Matthew and Price seem to fall naturally into their place between Henry Meyrick and Evan Price, who (we learn from the Chapter Acts) was installed as Prebendary of St. Nicholas on September 7th, 1620. Evan Price attended Chapters in person with great regularity from December 19th, 1620, until July 30th, 1645. As he is styled Prebendary of St. Nicholas in 1636, it is evident that he never changed his stall. He was a Bachelor of Divinity. Walker informs us that he was "a learned and pious man", and was 80 years of age when the Cromwellians ejected him from his Benefice of St. Athan. In 1660 Maurice Williams was admitted by Royal mandate to this Prebend, in which he was succeeded, at his death, by John Powell, who was admitted on June 20th, 1670.

#### FAIRWELL.

William Clark, the Prebendary of this stall in 1535, has left his name as the *alias* of Fairwell. John Lloyd, LL.B., was a Prebendary of the Cathedral in January, 1561,<sup>2</sup> and in April, 1567, and as we know that he held Fairwell in 1575, when he resigned, we may conclude that this had been his stall from the first. On the 28th day of November, 1575, his successor was installed, namely, Thomas Evans, alias Thomas ap Evan Philipp, alias

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth Palace Library.

<sup>2</sup> "Remayneth in Oxon, Principal of Whyte Hall there, and Felowe of All Soules Colege" (Kitchin).

Thomas Phillips. He was Prebendary of Fairwell on January 30th, 1576 : and his attendances at Chapter are noted from July 26th, 1576, to July, 1588. We can trace him as a Prebendary even further : in the " Horse and Armes " requisition of 1590,<sup>1</sup> he was called upon to furnish " a light horse " in respect of his Prebend. Then follows a gap in our evidence for 23 years. But this is the only place into which Prebendary Rice Morgan can be satisfactorily put, for his record of attendances at Chapter fits the breach exactly : they extend from June 30th, 1591, to June 30th, 1612. On August 3rd, 1613, we know that Thomas Godwin was collated to Fairwater,<sup>2</sup> and that he was installed (by proxy) on March 22nd, 1614.<sup>3</sup> He attended Chapter meetings, often by proxy, from June 30th, 1614, until July 1st, 1644, in which year he died.<sup>4</sup> His immediate successor was Philip Flower, B.D., who was installed in the Prebend of " William Clark " on June 30th, 1645. He must have died during the Commonwealth, because at the Restoration, by virtue of a Royal mandate, Thomas Morgan was installed herein on October 16th, 1660.

#### FAIRWATER.

The second title of this Prebend is " William Jones," from the Prebendary thereof in 1535. Bishop Kitchin reported in January, 1561, that a layman, Edward Bell, M.A., held this Prebend then ; but he disappeared before April 17th, 1567, when Robert Jones, a Prebendary certainly, was in all probability the occupant of this stall, as we have shown when dealing with Holy Cross and Caerau. The key is found in the schedule of January 30th, 1576, in which uncertainty attaches to two stalls only, namely,

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth Palace Library.

<sup>2</sup> First Fruits Certificates : P.R.O.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter Acts.

<sup>4</sup> Browne Willis.

St. Nicholas and Fairwater, for whom Hugh Lewis and Robert Jones are apparently available. But we know from other evidence that St. Nicholas belonged to Hugh Lewis; therefore Fairwater was evidently the prebend of Robert Jones in 1576, and, if then, why not also in 1567? He attended Chapter from 1575 to 1582; but we have instances of Canons falling off in attendance before the end of their tenure, owing perhaps to ill-health or old age. He may have retained his stall until 1590 or 1591. The next Prebendary of "William Jones" (as the Acts of 1614 inform us), namely, Morgan Blethin, began attending Chapter on October 4th, 1591: he probably was the immediate successor of Robert Jones. Morgan Blethin's Chapter-record covers the years from 1591 to September 25th, 1619. He had been admitted to the Benefice of Penmark on August 22nd, 1588,<sup>1</sup> which may indeed have been the year of his admission to the canonry. Who was his successor? Probably John Dowle, whom the Act Book states to have been Prebendary of "William Jones" in an entry for June 30th, 1636. As he began to attend Chapter on June 30th, 1620, this is the only stall open for him then. His presence at Chapter is noted from 1620 until June 30th, 1638, so that Browne Willis was not quite accurate when he wrote that he died "about the year 1631",<sup>2</sup> nor is there documentary justification for the assertion that he was Treasurer in 1628.<sup>3</sup> As we have already said, he was still Prebendary of Fairwater or William Jones on June 30th, 1636. There can be little doubt, if we examine the synopsis of the stalls, that his immediate successor was Francis Davis, M.A., afterwards B.D., who attended Chapter from April 10th, 1639, until July 1st, 1644, and afterwards as we shall see; during

<sup>1</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>2</sup> p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> p. 86.



those years Fairwater is the only Prebend open for him. On June 30th, 1645, the Chapter Acts inform us that Henry Mellen was installed as Prebendary of Fairwater. There is no mistake as to the stall, because it is recorded that he still held it when he died, after the Restoration, on August 12th, 1665.<sup>1</sup> What became of Francis Davis? He was actually present in Chapter on that June 30th, 1645. Now, as we have already observed, Herbert Jones, Prebendary of St. Andrew, died on July 29th, 1644. The only conclusion possible on the limited evidence is that Francis Davis was transferred then to St. Andrew. Henry Mellen attended Chapter from January, 1661, to June 30th, 1665. He was succeeded by Edward Gamage, who was admitted to this stall on October 20th, 1665, and installed April 19th, 1666. Two years later he became Archdeacon.

#### WARTHACWM.

There are two parishes in Monmouthshire now called Llangwm Uchaf and Llangwm Isaf : they were both appropriated to stalls in Llandaff Cathedral, and the Prebendaries were their patrons. Llangwm Isaf was formerly known as Warthacwm. The Prebend was held in January, 1561, by Lewis Johns, LL.B.<sup>2</sup> His successor, John Evans, M.A., was transferred hither from Caerau on February 17th, 1571;<sup>3</sup> and he still held Warthacwm on January 30th, 1576. Three of his attendances at Chapter are noted, namely, on August 4th, 1573, July 8th, 1574, and July 26th, 1576. But there is no reason for supposing him to have died before 1587. On April 27th, 1588, Henry Meyrick,<sup>4</sup> Prebendary of St. Nicholas, was admitted to

<sup>1</sup> Llandaff Records, vol. ii, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Parson of Llangan and of Marcross (Kitchin).

<sup>3</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

this stall, and he attended Chapter in July, 1588, and October, 1589. We have silence for twelve years respecting this Prebend. But we must find room for James Ballard, who was present in Chapter by proxy on May 17th, 1598, and in person on June 30th, 1599. He fits in here better than anywhere else, that is all that can be said. We get back to certainty with the admission of Andrew Vaen, LL.B. (formerly Prebendary of St. Dubritius), to the Warthacwm stall on August 11th, 1601.<sup>1</sup> The Chapter Book gives us no record of any attendance of his at Chapters, but informs us that he was present at a Visitation held on August 1st, 1604, but was absent from the Visitations of April 16th, 1610, and August 31st, 1614. On the last mentioned day the Visitor suspended him from ingress to the Church, and from the fruits of his Prebend.<sup>2</sup> We are not told anything more about him, except that he died in 1619, and was buried at Wolves Newton.<sup>3</sup> But there is a bit of evidence that he must have resigned, or been deprived of his Canonry, soon after his suspension in 1614. George Charleton, so Browne Willis tells us,<sup>4</sup> was a Prebendary of Llandaff before he was elected Bishop on December 23rd, 1617. But there was no stall vacant for him at that time, unless we assume that Warthacwm had become vacant through the delinquency of Andrew Vaen. Browne Willis, it is true, assigns the St. Dubritius stall to Charleton : but we know that Christopher Ffryer held that stall on June 30th, 1618, that is, more than six months after Charleton's election to the See. We are inclined to regard Charleton as Prebendary of Warthacwm in succession to Andrew Vaen : he may have retained his stall until his translation to the See of Chichester on September 8th, 1619. The next Pre-

<sup>1</sup> First Fruits Certificates : P.R.O.

<sup>3</sup> Browne Willis, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter Acts.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 97.

bendary was William Arney ; he certainly had Warthacwm when he died, and the synopsis shows that he must have held it from the first. Against this we have an entry in the Chapter Book on July 2nd, 1621, that he was Prebendary of Llangwm. This must be the registrar's slip, because Philemon Blethin had Llangwm then. The mistake is intelligible because Llangwm and Warthacwm are associated together in Monmouthshire and in the Cathedral. We have no doubt that William Arney became Prebendary of Warthacwm in 1618 or 1619. His attendance at Chapters runs from 1620 to 1629. Browne Willis reports that he died about 1630 or 1631,<sup>1</sup> and that he was succeeded by John Clegg. The Chapter Book informs us definitely that he was dead before July 30th, 1630, and that his immediate successor was Thomas Chaffin, D.D., who was installed on that day. Dr. Chaffin attended Chapter from June 30th, 1631, until July 1st, 1644,—on the last occasion by proxy. He was a Prebendary of Salisbury, where he died of the barbarous treatment he received from the Puritans in 1648.<sup>2</sup> Probably the stall remained vacant after his death until the Restoration. In 1660 the Prebend was conferred by Royal mandate on Edward Davis, M.A., who was installed on October 16th, 1660.

#### LLANGWM.

William Thomas<sup>3</sup> was Prebendary of Llangwm in January, 1561, and he held the same stall on January 30th, 1576. He was present at the Episcopal election on April 17th, 1567 : and his attendances at Chapter are noted from 1573 to 1581. His immediate successor was Thomas Edmunds, admitted on June 14th, 1583.<sup>4</sup> His presence

<sup>1</sup> Browne Willis, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Rector of Wenvoe and of Peterston-super-Ely (Kitchin).

<sup>4</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

at Chapter is recorded from October 25th, 1589, until July 17th, 1605. That Philemon Blethin was the next Prebendary of Llangwm is placed beyond doubt by the First Fruits Certificate, which proves that he was admitted thereto on January 10th, 1608. His Chapter record extends from August 10th, 1608, to September 14th, 1628. His immediate successor was John Clegg, who attended Chapter with exemplary regularity from September 3rd, 1629, until June 30th, 1666. Twice in the Chapter Book he is styled Prebendary of Llangwm, namely, on June 30th, 1636, and January 22nd, 1660. There is no hint that he ever held another stall. It is true that in one Chapter Act he is said to have granted a Lease of the Prebend of Warthacwm, that is of the property belonging thereto: but the explanation is simple, John Clegg had a grant of the Prebend from the Prebendary thereof, Edward Davis, as another Chapter Act records; in other words he farmed the property for a rent paid to the real Prebendary. Browne Willis<sup>1</sup> is our authority for the information that on the consecration of the Archdeacon, Francis Davis, to the See of Llandaff on August 24th, 1667, Dr. John Clegg was promoted to the office of Archdeacon, which he held for five or six months before his death. This is not impossible. We are, however, inclined to think that, while he may have accepted the office, he was never formally admitted. The Chapter minutes are complete at this period and give us no hint of it. The Bishop's Act Book, as we shall see later, disregards any tenure of the Archdeaconry by Dr. Clegg. Furthermore, his successor, Thomas Wilkins, LL.B., was admitted on March 10th, 1668, to the stall of Llangwm "vacant by the death of John Clegg, the last holder thereof".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Browne Willis, pp. 82, 94, 179.

<sup>2</sup> Llandaff Records, vol. ii, p. 68.

## PRAECENTORIS.

The Precentor's stall has also another title, "Mr. Hickman," the name of the Precentor in 1535. Bishop Kitchin reported in January, 1561, that John Lunn<sup>1</sup> was Precentor. On April 17th, 1567, Morgan Nicholas<sup>2</sup> held this office; and he was styled Precentor also in the schedule of 1576. He was present at Chapters from August 4th, 1573, to July 8th, 1581. In the following year, on January 5th, he was admitted to the Dignity of Archdeacon.<sup>3</sup> His immediate successor in the Precentorship was John Williams, who had been Prebendary of St. Dubritius: the date of his admission was January 6th, 1582.<sup>4</sup> His attendances at Chapter, in this capacity, are noted from October 15th, 1586, until May 28th, 1596. The next Precentor was Ievan Morgan: he is so styled in the Acts of October 1st, 1600. He attended Chapter by proxy on May 17th, 1598, and his last recorded appearance there was on June 30th, 1602. He was succeeded by Robert Robotham, M.A., who was admitted on December 20th, 1603.<sup>5</sup> It appears that, by some irregularity, he was installed fourteen months before his admission! The Chapter Acts give October 27th, 1602, as the date of his installation. He attended Chapter from January 14th, 1603, until July 17th, 1606, and in the following year became Archdeacon. After Robotham came Edward Coward, B.D.; that he was Precentor the Chapter Acts of April 16th, 1610, and January 9th, 1611, make quite clear. His first attendance at Chapter was by proxy, on June 29th, 1609. He vacated the office between January 9th and August 21st, 1611,<sup>6</sup> because on the latter date John Hughes, M.A., was admitted in his stead. Incidentally we learn that John Hughes

<sup>1</sup> Alias John Llyn, Parson of Sully (Kitchin).

<sup>2</sup> He was Vicar of Pendoylan in 1561 (Kitchin).

<sup>3</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*      <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*      <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

lived in his own house in Monmouth Town. His Chapter record extends from October 2nd, 1611, to June 30th, 1645; but during the last five of these years he appeared by proxy. He was succeeded by Thomas Powell, D.D.,<sup>1</sup> who held the Precentorship until his death, which happened on December 31st, 1660. Next came Jenkin Williams, who was admitted by Royal mandate in 1660.<sup>2</sup> This date, and the fact that Jenkin Williams attended Chapter as Precentor on January 22nd, 1661, suggests that Thomas Powell was known to be a dying man, and preparations for his successor had been made betimes. Jenkin Williams attended Chapter during the years which followed.

#### CANCELLORIS.

The Chancellor's stall also bears the title "William Howell," from the Chancellor of 1535. In enumerating Chancellors we must be careful to distinguish between Chancellors of the Diocese and Chancellors of the Cathedral Church. The latter only concern us. Our records all agree in making Thomas Williams<sup>3</sup> the Chancellor in January, 1561, April, 1567, August, 1573, and January, 1576. He probably continued to hold the office until the beginning of 1582, because on June 5th, 1582, Philip Jones, LL.B., was admitted thereto.<sup>4</sup> If we had only the Chapter Acts to refer to, we should not be aware of his existence. On April 2nd, 1588, Thomas Herbert was admitted to the Chancellorship<sup>5</sup>: his attendances at Chapter extend from July, 1588, until July 17th, 1605. The Chapter Acts inform us that the office became vacant through his death, which presumably was not long before September 9th, 1606, when Edward James, M.A.,<sup>6</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> Browne Willis, pp. 89, 182.

<sup>2</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>3</sup> Vicar of Llanover (Kitchin).

<sup>4</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*



admitted, although he was not installed until October 6th, 1607. He attended Chapter once, namely, on June 29th, 1609. The next Chancellor held the stall for over thirty years : he bore the name of Edward Lym. He is definitely styled Chancellor in the record of the Visitation on April 16th, 1610 : and his attendances cover the years from July 19th, 1610, to October 22nd, 1640, although for the last two he appeared by proxy. William Sherburne was the next Chancellor. He was installed on June 30th, 1642. It was not recorded, indeed, at the time what his stall was ; but he attended Chapter on January 24th, 1661, as Chancellor, and he was not among those who were appointed to their stalls by Royal mandate at the Restoration. He was present in Chapter in 1643, 1644, 1645 and 1661, and thenceforth from time to time. He died on April 16th, 1679, and lies buried in Pembridge Church, Herefordshire.<sup>1</sup>

#### THESAURARI.

In Kitchin's return of January, 1561, the Treasurer was William Evans, LL.B.,<sup>2</sup> who presided at the Chapter of April 17th, 1567. He is also described as Treasurer in Blethin's schedule of January, 1576. His attendance at Chapter is entered regularly from August 4th, 1573, to October 25th, 1589. He died on January 5th, 1590.<sup>3</sup> Gervase Babington, his successor, was admitted to the Treasurership on January 20th, 1590,<sup>4</sup> but was not installed until October 4th, 1591. In the meanwhile, on August 7th, 1591, he had been elected Bishop of Llandaff : and on August 29th in the same year he was consecrated.

<sup>1</sup> Browne Willis, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Vicar of Llangattock Vibon Avel, Parson of St. Fagan's, Resident at the Cathedral (Kitchin).

<sup>3</sup> Browne Willis, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> First Fruits Certificates : P.R.O.

He was translated to Exeter in 1595, and soon afterwards must have vacated his Prebend at Llandaff. He was followed by Morgan Johns, or Jones, M.A., who was admitted on June 12th, 1597.<sup>1</sup> His Chapter record extends from July 20th, 1597, to June 30th, 1624. Browne Willis gives 1626 as the year of his burial at Llanmaes. The Chapter Book designates Anthony Foxton, M.A., as Treasurer; and as his attendances were in the years 1626 and 1627, he must have succeeded Morgan Jones. We have already referred to the statement that John Dowle was Treasurer in 1628<sup>2</sup>: there is no evidence of this in the Chapter Book, and for lack of it we conclude that Anthony Foxton was Treasurer for about four years. He was probably a brother of the Archdeacon, Francis Foxton. On December 15th, 1631, Francis Maunsell, D.D., was installed as Treasurer, and he continued to be Treasurer until his death, which occurred on May 1st, 1665. His attendances at Chapter extend from June 30th, 1635, to September 10th, 1661. At the two last meetings of his record he appeared by proxy: and the Chapter voted a Bonus to him because of his infirmity. He was a distinguished person. His successor, Francis Munday, D.D., was admitted to the Treasurership on September 2nd, 1665.<sup>3</sup>

#### ARCHIDIACONI.

It is well known to students that Llandaff Cathedral had no Dean; its normal president was the Archdeacon of Llandaff. This office was held in January, 1561, by John Smith, LL.D.,<sup>4</sup> who had been Treasurer. On his

<sup>1</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>2</sup> Browne Willis, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>4</sup> Parson of Merthyr Tydfil and Chancellor of the Diocese of Exeter (Kitchin).

death, so we learn from Archbishop Parker's Register,<sup>1</sup> Giles Langley, LL.B., was instituted to the Archdeaconry on April 27th, 1564: he was presented to it by Master David Lewes, LL.D., and John Lewes, Notary Public, who had jointly obtained the next presentation from the late Bishop of Llandaff, Anthony Kitchin. Langley settled with the Crown for his First Fruits on November 4th, 1564.<sup>2</sup> He was still Archdeacon when Hugh Jones was elected Bishop on April 17th, 1567. His successor was Lewis Baker, LL.B., who was admitted on April 26th, 1571.<sup>3</sup> He was present in Chapter from August 4th, 1573, to July 26th, 1576. Bishop Blethin's schedule also styles him the Archdeacon on January 30th, 1576. On January 5th, 1581, Morgan Nicholas, who had been Precentor, was admitted as Archdeacon; and he attended Chapter from January 17th, 1582, until January 10th, 1595. It is recorded that he was present at the Visitation on October 8th, 1595. His death (which occurred on January 8th, 1596) was referred to at a meeting of the Chapter on June 30th following. The next Archdeacon was Morgan Roberts, M.A., who was collated on May 8th, 1596,<sup>4</sup> and installed on May 28th. His attendances cover the period from June 30th, 1596, until October 1st, 1600. He was followed by Cadwaladr Hughes, B.D.,<sup>5</sup> who was admitted on May 6th, 1601. His presence at Chapter meetings is noted during the period which ran from June 30th, 1601, until July 17th, 1606. Another, who had been Precentor, namely, Robert Robotham, M.A., was admitted as his successor on February 9th, 1607. The record of his attendances extends from October 6th, 1607, until June 30th, 1621, but on the last occasion by proxy. Thereon hangs a tale which the Chapter Book relates. At the

<sup>1</sup> Canterbury and York Society's Edition, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Episcopal Visitation on March 16th and 17th, 1620, at which he presented himself, the Visitor suspended him for contumacy. The Bishop, however, appears to have recognised his ability, and found a way out of the difficulty. He issued Letters Patent appointing Thomas Gwyn, LL.D., and Robert Robotham, M.A., jointly and severally, to be Vicar General and Official Principal of the Bishop, that is, to execute the office of Chancellor of the Diocese. These Letters Patent were confirmed by the Chapter on December 19th, 1620. Apparently this diplomatic course enabled Robert Robotham to retire with dignity from the Cathedral, because the Chapter Book records the fact that he resigned his Archdeaconry before December of 1623. His successor was Francis Foxton, D.D., who was admitted to his office on December 6th, 1623,<sup>1</sup> and was installed on January 9th, 1624. He has been identified wrongly with the Treasurer, whose Christian name was Anthony. His tenure was short, because on August 4th, 1626, Thomas Prichard, M.A., was installed as Archdeacon. He held office at a difficult time, for his Chapter attendances ran from September 14th, 1626, until June 30th, 1645. He died in May, 1646, and was buried at Rudbaxton in Pembrokeshire. The Archdeaconry remained vacant until 1660, when Francis Davis, D.D., one of the Prebendaries, probably of St. Andrew, was appointed by Royal mandate to fill it.<sup>2</sup> He attended Chapter as Archdeacon from October 16th, 1660, until June 30th, 1666. On July 29th, 1667, he was elected Bishop of Llandaff; and he was followed in the Archdeaconry by Edward Gamage, Prebendary of Fairwater, who was admitted to the higher rank on January 18th, 1668.

<sup>1</sup> Liber Institutionum: P.R.O.

<sup>2</sup> First Fruits Certificates: P.R.O.

Our task is concluded. We began by pointing out how a study of this kind humanizes institutions. Much remains to be done before the human record in this case becomes as living as we should like to feel it is. But this article has prepared the way for further research. Until the persons had been rescued from oblivion, it was impossible to look for their antecedents or to estimate their characters. We venture to think that the Cathedral Chapter of Llandaff now stands complete, and plain to see, for all who wish to learn what it meant to those who served Elizabeth and the Stuart Kings.

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**The Speech of William Blethin,  
 bishop of Llandaff,  
 and the Customs and Ordinances of  
 the Church of Llandaff.**

By JOSEPH ALFRED BRADNEY, C.B., M.A., F.S.A.,

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(With the permission of the Ven. C. A. H. GREEN, D.D., Archdeacon  
 of Monmouth).

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ORATIO EPISCOPI,  
 LANDAVENSIS  
 PREBENDARIIS IN CAPITULO  
 CONGREGATIS  
 CONSUETUDINES ET  
 ORDINATIONES ECCLESIAE  
 LANDAVENSIS

1575

THE above is the title impressed on the oldest book in the possession of the archdeacon and chapter of Llandaff. The book is in good condition, and has in recent years been bound in whole calf ; it measures 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

*Dispensation of Marriage.*

On the first page is a copy in a contemporary hand of



a dispensation of marriage granted to Rowland ap Morgan of Machen and his wife Blanch verch William of Tre-Owen. It is dated 20 Jan., 1527, and was granted at the instance of Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York, and primate of England.

Of the parties concerned who were stated to be related—the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity are formal words, made to include any relationship—Rowland Morgan of Machen was a man of wealth and importance in the county of Monmouth, son of Thomas Morgan of the same place who had been esquire of the body to king Henry VII.

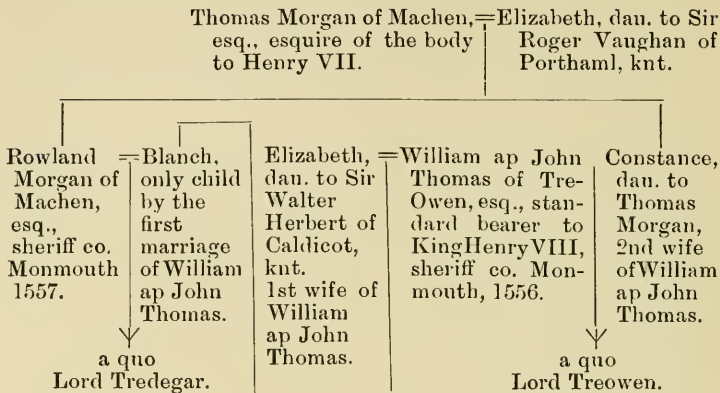
Blanch verch William was the daughter, and only child by the first wife, of William ap John Thomas, often called William Jones, of Tre-Owen who was standard-bearer to king Henry VIII. Both the parties, therefore, belonged to families of renown.

The relationship, though there was nothing in it to prevent marriage, was peculiar. Rowland Morgan had married his sister's step-daughter; Blanch had married her step-mother's brother. William ap John Thomas had married as his second wife the sister of his son-in-law.

The settlement of marriage between Rowland and Blanch is dated 11 Nov., 1517,<sup>1</sup> so that it must have been between that date and the date of the dispensation, 20 Jan., 1527, that William ap John Thomas married his second wife Constance Morgan and so caused Rowland and Blanch, and presumably himself also, to need a dispensation. It is of interest to note that from Rowland and Blanch is lineally descended Lord Tredegar; and from William ap John Thomas, Lord Treowen.

<sup>1</sup> *Genealogies of Glamorgan*, by G. T. Clark, p. 311.

The pedigree will more clearly show the relationship.



*The speech of bishop Blethin.*

William Blethin, bishop of Llandaff, was a Welshman and a native of Monmouthshire, having been born about the year 1530 at the manor house or court of Shirenewton,<sup>1</sup> the seat of his father, Gruffydd, who was the son of Thomas Llwyd ap Morgan ap Thomas ap Bleddyn, lineally descended from Sir Howel ap Iorwerth, lord of Caerlleon, who died in 1175, and so in a direct male line from Howel Dda. He is probably the only bishop of Llandaff who was born in the county of Monmouth. He was consecrated 17 April, 1575, and on account of the poverty of the See was allowed to retain certain livings in England. In the year of his consecration he was made archdeacon of Brecknock, an office he held till 1577.

His wife was Anne, daughter of Robert Young, and to her memory is a *marwnad* by Dafydd Benwyn the poet.

He died in October, 1590, and was buried in the chancel

<sup>1</sup> This is now known as Shirenewton Hall, about four miles west from Chepstow. Of the original mansion nothing is left, but the modern house occupies the site.

of Mathern, where was in those days the episcopal palace. The eldest son of the bishop was William Blethin, who settled at Dinham, a manor and estate purchased by the bishop, and was ancestor of a family of whom none remain to-day. The bishop's younger son, Philemon, was vicar of Llantilio Pertholey.

The speech to the canons is dated 30 January, 1575-6,<sup>1</sup> some nine months after the bishop's consecration. This would appear to be his second address to the canons, for he commences by referring to the words he had previously spoken, on which occasion certain books could not be found but which have since turned up—*pulveribus (proh dolor) obsiti et co-operti*. The only book he mentioned by name is *Ecclesiæ Textus*,<sup>2</sup> which contained the ordinances and statutes of the cathedral. Of these ordinances he made a selection and added others as suitable to the times.

The cathedral seems to have been allowed to get into a bad state of repair, and to have been left without pastoral care—*derelicta solatioque pastorali destituta*. This is said elsewhere<sup>3</sup> to have been the fault of Anthony Kitchin, bishop of Llandaff from 1545 to 1567, who impoverished the see by granting long leases at small rents, and, it must be presumed, by exacting for himself a heavy fine or fee.

The immediate predecessor of bishop Blethin was Hugh Jones, 1567-74, the first Welshman to occupy the see for 300 years, who seems to have done nothing to repair the damage done by Anthony Kitchin. Bishop Blethin's task was, therefore, a hard one, and he speaks with modesty of his appointment and how better men might have been preferred to him. He wishes not so much to preside over

<sup>1</sup> 1576 according to modern computation. Until 1752 the civil year began 25 March.

<sup>2</sup> This book does not exist now.

<sup>3</sup> *A Survey of the Cathedral-church of Landaff*, by Browne Willis, 1719, p. 64.

them as to be of benefit to them—*quibus non præ-esse, sed sollicite prodesse studeamus*. Having gained his Sparta he would do his best to adorn it<sup>1</sup>—*Cum Spartam nacti sumus, hanc (quantum in nobis est) ornemus*. The ruined church and the debts incurred distract his mind. He suggests that the number of vicars-choral, *annuellarii*,<sup>2</sup> and choristers should be reduced, to save expense. He refers to the letting out on leases of many manors, lordships and farms, while their sweet-toned books—*libri suaviloqui*—vestments and golden vessels were gone. It could be said that where Troy once stood was now a field. The place had got into contempt; in the houses the clergy ought to inhabit horses were stalled and pigs fattened. Urban, the thirteenth bishop, when things were in a similar state, had, by the help of pope Honorius, restored the lands that had been taken away. Why should they hesitate? An Urban [the bishop himself] was present, nor was there wanting an Honorius far to be preferred to any other Honorius, viz., Queen Elizabeth, as well as several patrons of learning who were privy councillors of her majesty. Finally, the bishop exhorts the canons to do their best and trusts they will accept the ordinances originally used, together with the additional ones he had made. It will be noticed that the bishop quotes largely from the Bible, and also from Cicero and Virgil.

#### *Customs and Ordinances.*

The oaths taken by the bishop and canons are similar to those printed in the *Book of Llan Dáv*.<sup>3</sup> Among the

<sup>1</sup> An expression used by Cicero. *Epist. ad Atticum*, iv, 6, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Green, archdeacon of Monmouth, considers *annuellarii* to be priests who received a stipend for celebrating yearly the decease of certain persons. *Lexicon Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis* has *Monachus forte cui annualium peragendorum cura demandata erat*.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans' Edition, 1893, p. 306 et seq.

points worthy of notice is that, there being no dean,<sup>1</sup> the bishop is to be reckoned as dean of the chapter, but not to be called dean but head of the chapter. Safeguards were introduced against the alienation of lands, and the prebends were not to be let to strangers. Tithes were not to be granted to lay persons. Dates are given on which the officials were to preach.

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DISPENSATION OF MARRIAGE TO ROLAND AP MORGAN [OF MACHEN] AND BLANCH VEGH WYLL'M HIS WIFE [OF TREOWEN], 20 JAN., 1527.

[p. 1].—. . . . . exemplificata sit | . . . . . ex parte Rolandi ap Morgan et Blanchie vech Wyll'm uxoris ejus | dicta dispensatio prout sequitur in hec verba—| Thomas miseracione divina titulo Sancte Cecelie, ecclesie Romane | cardinalis, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Anglie primas, ac cancellarius regni, | de Latere verus legatus, Dilectis nostris in Christo Rolando ap Morgan et | Blanchie vj. William, Landavensis diocesis, Salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Cum sanctissi| mus dominus noster papa inter alia nobis concesserit ut nuper quod | personis infra nostram legationem de Latere residentibus, qui tertio | et quarto mixtarum consanguinitatis et affinitatis gradibus juncti, | matrimonium inter se contraxere, desiderantibus ut invicem matrimonia hujusmodi | vi valeant dispensationis, et prolem exinde suscipiendam legitimam decernere possimus, prout in literis concessum jus hujusmodi . . . . continetur, Ac ex | parte vestra nuper fuit expertum quod ex certis rationabilibus causis vos moventibus, | desideratis invicem matrimonialiter copulari, sed quia | consanguinitatis gradu conjuncti estis, vestrum in hac parte desiderium | implere non potestis, canonica dispensatione desuper non obtenta, | nobis hujusmodi literas supplicatorias fecistis ut super hoc vobis de aperto | sacrum remedium providere dignaremur. Nos igitur vestris hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati vobiscum per hec scripta ut, impedimento | quod ex hujusmodi consanguinitate provenit nequaquam obstante, matrimonium | contrahere, et in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, libere et licite remanere | possitis, auctoritate apostolica mihi in hac parte concessa, dumodo predicta Blan | chia propter hoc rapta non fuerit et vobis canonicum aliud non obstat, jure dispensamus, prolem exinde suscipiendam legitimam decer | nentes et nunciantes, in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque. | Datum nostro sub sigillo in edibus prope Westmonasterium vigesimo | die mensis Januarij, anno juxta cursum

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<sup>1</sup> The deanery was founded by order in council 10 Nov. 1843.

et computationem Ecclesie | Anglicane millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo septimo.

Jo. Hughes

W. Clarburgg  
datarius

Concordat cum originali.

[p. 2.]—ORATIO REVERENDI IN CHRISTO PATRIS ac domini, domini Willi'mi Blethin, permissione divina Landavensis episcopi, prebendarijs suis in Capitulo Landavenfi congregatis pronunciata.

Cum dudum vobiscum (fratres charissimi) paucis agerem, adhortatione prius praelibata huncque in finem quodammodo excogitata, ut libri nonnulli tunc non extantes, quibus monumenta et statuta hujus antiquissime ecclesie dextralis Britannie praedecessores nostri scripta reliquere, ad nos et successores nostros necnon ad vos ipsos et hoc nostrum Capitulum spectantes, exhiberentur. Qui diu latebris delitescentes pulveribus (proh dolor) obfiti & cooperti nobis et vobis hactenus incogniti in publicum tandem prodire. Quos cum perlegissem ac vobis omnibus & singulis maxime necessarios esse animadvertissem, ut vobis omnibus innotescerent efflagitabam. Quod ut expedicius fieret sic procedendum fore in animum induxi. Cum in libro, qui *Ecclesie Textus* inferibitur, omnes hujus Capituli ordinationes et statuta ab episcopis hujus ecclesie existentibus stabilita, sigillisque tam ipsorum quam Capituli corroborata (ut luculenter omnibus appareat), per omnia secula exprimerentur: hinc quae nobis juxta temporis exigenciam sunt perferenda consulto selegi, selecta in articulorum compendium (ut cicius ab omnibus intelligantur) redegī. Quibus autem, cum secundum juris regulam novis emergentibus nova remedia sunt perquirenda, illa, quae praedecessores nostri auctoritate fecere, non solum quae ecclesie nostrae decora sed quae maxime utilia nonnulla addidi, quae cum ceteris hoc in loco enucleanda esse decrevi. Eamque ob rem hodie huc aggressi sumus quod jam jam expedire non dedignabor, dummodo, uti rei ratio postulat, prius de unanimi vestro consensu paucis vos presentes non modo oratos sed exoratos velim. Cum hec nostra cathedralis ecclesia dudum esset derelicta solatioque pastoralis destituta, omnifcio & omnipotenti Deo per dominam nostram Elizabetham (subditos suos juste ac pie gubernantem, quam diutissime gubernator omnium incolumem servet) ferenissimam hujus Britannici regni reginam, ut non solum adsim sed vobis omnino presim, etsi nonnulli non infimi generis homines, alij ætatis maturitate, alij morum gravitate, alij doctrinae excilencia, alij rerum experientia, alij divitiarum affluentia præponendi essent, me tamen non injuriose placuit elegisse. Quis enim horum omnium (si secundum incipientiam, ut Sanctus Paulus . . . . se fecisse tradidit, nobis loqui liceat<sup>1</sup>) plus quam nos ipsi in propagando . . . . . evangelio,

<sup>1</sup> Quod loquor, non loquor secundum Deum, sed quasi in insipientia, in hac substantia gloriæ. II Cor. xi, 17.



in extirpando Romani antechristi regno, inter hujus partis patrie christicolas (quibuscum cohabitantibus cohabitavi) bene meritus est? Annos decem . . . . . deorsum cursitando, juxta necessitatem mihi incumbentem, ut euangelizarem, plus ceteris omnibus elaboravi, sudavi & . . . . . Quare, si quis laboris, fudoris . . . . . [p. 3] nostri fructus congregasse vellet, nonne injuriam nobis quodammodo intulisse existimetis? Sed quid ultra? Ne nos colaudasse ipsi videamur, de tabula manum ne preter casam. Si quid autem eo feci quod faciendum fuit, non aliud quam inutilem servum me esse reputo. Nihil enim boni post prevaricationem primi prothoplastri parentis nostri Adami<sup>1</sup> sed omne quod malum est ab ipsa natura infitum nobis superesse constat. Unde adeo corrupti & infelices, filij ire<sup>2</sup> et indignacionis facti, ut non sumus idonei ex nobis ipsis aliquid boni excogitare. Si quid autem virtutis, si quid consolacionis, si quid bonitatis, non aliunde quam a Patre luminis e supernis derivatur, qui tanta et inefabili potestate peditus ut hos ipsos lapides in ipsius Abrahami filios converti jubeat.<sup>3</sup> Mirabiles autem elaciones maris sed mirabilior in altis Dominus,<sup>4</sup> qui Mosem, ovium pastorem, strenuum Israelitarum ducem constituit, Davidem e campis sui patris oves pascentem in regem injungi iussit, Matheum, publicanum e telonio vocatum, in apostolum & evangelistam assignavit, Saulum, persecutorem, in Paulum egregium doctorem gentium conversum elegit, latronem in cruce pendentem sua ipsius sententia cum primis cœlicolam post passionem ejus decrevit. Quid horum non admirabile? Quid non incomparabile? Quid non singulare? Quid majori dignius admiratione? Pauperes in duces, pauperes in reges, pauperes in apostolos, pauperes in cœlicolas misericors Deus elegisse non est dedignatus. Hos sui gregis pastores et præpositos esse voluit, quibus omnes animas providencia sua divina subditas esse præcepit. Unde quanta illis Verbi ministris ab omnibus obediencia mandato Dei sit præstanda, tantam nobis reverentiam ab omnibus Christi oviculis, quibus nos præposuit Deus, debitam esse quis non ignorat? Quibus non præesse sed sollicite prodesse studeamus. Hic labor hoc opus est;<sup>5</sup> cum Spartam nacti sumus,<sup>6</sup> hanc (quantum in nobis est) ornemus. Cum nobis hec ruinosa Landavenfis ecclesia obtrudit, omnemvolvendo lapidem prospicere ac curare non definamus. Sed quomodo, cum æs alienum non sit solvendo huic oppitulemur? Quam adeo contemptam haecenus habuistis, ut non tantilli aestimetis. Hæc dum mecum reco lo domique nostre revolve, tot mihi impedimenta occurrere videantur, quæ meum animum nonnunquam divorce trahunt. Ecclesie ruina, debitum alienum, exilitas reddituum, vestrumque

<sup>1</sup> Regnavit mors . . . . . in eos qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem prævaricationis Adæ. Rom. v, 14.

<sup>2</sup> . . . . et eramus natura filii iræ. Ephes. ii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Dico enim vobis quoniam potens est Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahamæ. Matt. iii, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Mirabiles elaciones maris, mirabilis in altis Dominus. Ps. xciii, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras Hoc opus, hic labor est. Virg. Æn. vi, 128.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. Epist. ad Atticum iv, 6, 2.

contemptus. O si hanc tempore Dubricij conditam archiepiscopi (qui Daniele primum Bangoriensem episcopum consecravit) metropolitancam Landavensem ecclesiam, virtuosa liberalitate principum sumptuose edificatam, magna librorum, vestimentorum, vasorum, argenti et auri copia ditatam, magnis edificijs perpolitam, multis prebendariorum domibus circumdatam, hac vicariorum curia adornatam, illac archidiaconi edibus decoratam, in memoriam revocares! Quibus omnibus aut demptis aut prostratis soloque adequatis, hanc solam ecclesiam, incompitam, pulverulentam, peneque irreparabilem cerneret, quem non anxietas animi [p. 4] prorsus deprimeret? Hanc igitur qualem et quantam ne tempore nostro funditus pereat, manuteneamus, quod cercius et facilius perfici possit, dummodo (loca ejusdem ruitura quotidie refartiendo) nervos nobiscum extendatis vestros donec suum cuique fero tribuatur. Quod ut citius peragamus, vicarios chorales, annuellaros & choristas (modo interim aliquem residensarium semper habeamus concionatorem) pauciores, conducamus. Hac si non successerit, alia quacunque vobis comprobata aggrediamur via. Qua rerum inopia laboratis non ignoramus; maneria magna, dominia multa, firmas nonnullas quibus non dedistis? Ut non abs re, nomine, domini sine re, vos appellandi estis. Omnia confumpstistis, libros suaviloquos, vestimenta preciosa, vasa aurea, thesaurum incognitum, ad nihilum omnia sunt redacta. Videte, circumspicite, nihil enim hic reliquum est ut certo certius dici possit Campus ubi Troja fuit. Que nunc huc redeundi consolacio cum vos ipsi hunc locum adeo contemptum habeatis? Cui, non nisi succinctis pallijs, ocreis ac calcaribus indutis, urgente necessitate, adesse velitis. Vos cum vestram hanc ecclesiam ac loca circumjacentia sic abhorreatis, quis magni referat? Nullam (ut auditus ad nostras pervenit aures) huic ecclesie adjunctam remanendi domum reliquistis. In edibus Deo quondam dicatis (quas amplius ad alios usus humanos transferre vobis non licuisset), quibus Christi ministri ac dispensatores Dei semper cohabitarent, pascuntur equi, saginantur vestri (proh dolor) porci! Si secundum antiquas ordinationes & laudabiles hujus ecclesie consuetudines (quibus per sancta Dei evangelia obstricti & adjurati estis) hactenus illam gubernassetis, ruinis, debitis, exilitatibus & contemptibus obvenire quam facillime potuissimus. Que restat (his autem omnibus repugnantibus) una hec spes est: si omnia ad nostram ecclesiam pertinentia contra hujus Capituli statuta alij sint concessa, pristinum statum reparare & restituere quid non posse dubitemus? Quandoquidem eam ipsam ob rem Urbanus (tricesimus hujus ecclesie Landavenfis episcopus) supplicatione Honorio, hujus nominis secundo pontifici Romano, prius oblata, privelegio ab ipso decreto generalique confilio stabilitato, jurisdictiones usurpatas, terras ereptas, vestrasque prebendas ab alijs occupatas, ceteraque omnia ablata huic ecclesie adunavit & restituit. Omnia hec vobis perpendenda & equa lance pensitanda relinquimus. Quid hesitetis? Quid stupefcitis? Presto est Urbanus, nec deest Honorius cuivis Honorio prae honore preferendus. Aderit enim ecce Elizabetha, regina benignissima, (cujus beneficentiam primos nobis fructus condonando experti sumus), et viri illustrissimi, Mæcenates optimi, omni virtute præditi, prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, & justicia, qui ejus majestati semper a consilijs adfunt. Proinde expergiscamur. Tempus enim est a somno surgere. Nox processit. Appropinquat autem dies salutis & hec illa dies est quam fecit Dominus; exultemus

& letemur in ea.<sup>1</sup> Quapropter arma lucis [p. 5] induamus tenebrarum opera objicientes.<sup>2</sup> Erravimus enim omnes inique egimus<sup>3</sup>. Quamprimum igitur convertamur ad Dominum & ad vos convertet. Vite prioris penitentiam agamus et confiteamur Domino, qui adeo misericors est ut dimittat nobis omnia peccata nostra, cujus deinceps fideles dispensatores sumus, hujus calamitose & miserrime Landavenfis ecclesie semper memores. Agite, satagite, remis incumbite vestris<sup>4</sup> ac quantum humeri sustinere valeant æquo animo nobiscum preestitis. Quod si perspexero, omnibus conventiculis iniquorum nefarijs & superstitionis papistarum dogmatibus rejectis, vos vestraque omnia quoad posse nostrum id quo lubenter defendemus, alioquin vos omnes, annuente Deo, radicitus extirpabimus. Hec autem navis fluctuosa, scilicet ecclesia vestra, nobis cum sit commissa, cujus me gubernatorem ultro elegistis, vela eidem pernecessaria parata accipitote. Ordinationes autem vestras ab antiquo usitatas vobis adduxi, quibus nonnullas eque peritiles annexi, quas cum ceteris in bonam accipiatis partem, sigilloque nostro capitulari nobiscum una confirmetis, expectamus. Deinde vela patentia ventis susurrantibus si dederitis, bono infractoque animo sitis, in portum navigabitis. Ne vos diucius detineam, ad articulos procedamus, nam que habui predicenda dixi.

[p. 6 blank.]

[p. 7] Consuetudines & ordinationes ecclesie Landavenfis.

**Hos, Guilielmus, permissione divina episcopus** Landavenfis, & Capitulum ecclesie cathedralis Landavenfis, vocatis in hac parte vocandis, et observatis solempnijs que in hac parte requiruntur, statuimus et ordinamus, In primis, quod episcopus Landavenfis, postquam ingrediatur ecclesiam die intronizationis sue, juret in hec verba que sequuntur—

**Forma juramenti episcopi Landavenfis.** Ego H., permissione divina episcopus Landavenfis, ecclesiam Landavensem, jura & libertates ejusdem universas prout scivero et potero juxta vires meas, contra quoscunque mortales, quociens opus fuerit, manutenendo<sup>5</sup> pariter et defendam, ac etiam consuetudines laudabiles & statuta dicte ecclesie cathedralis Landavenfis editas et approbatas ab antiquo hactenus usitatas, tam circa statum ejusdem quam etiam canonicorum ceterorumque ministrorum ejus, quantum in me est, inviolabiliter servabo, sicut me Deus adjuvet.

<sup>1</sup> Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus: exultemus et lætemur in ea. Ps. cxvii, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Abjiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum, et induamur arma lucis. Rom. xii, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Peccavimus, inique egimus. III Reg. vii, 47.

<sup>4</sup> validis incumbite remis. Virg. Æn. x, 294.

<sup>5</sup> an obvious mistake for *manutenebo*. See the same oath in *The Book of Llan Dâr*, p. 306.

**Forma iuramenti episcopi in domo capitulari.**

**Item**, quod in hec que sequuntur verba juret in domo capitulari, antequam assignetur ei locus in capitulo. **Ego H.**, permissione divina episcopus Landavenfis, in eo tamen quod canonicus ecclesie Landavenfis sum, fideliter promitto quod, quantum in me est, inviolabiliter conservabo omnes consuetudines laudabiles ecclesie Landavenfis per ipsum et capitulum approbatas, necnon statuta super statum ecclesie facta et facienda, sicut me Deus adjuvet et hec sancta Dei evangelia.

**Item**, quod consilia et secreta ecclesie Landavenfis et capituli ad dampnum eorum nemini revelabo.

**Item**, quod fidele consilium & opem ad manutenendum & sustentandum omnes libertates ecclesie Landavenfis et omnia bona temporalia & spiritualia ad eandem spectantia, prout commode potero, prestabo pariter ac impendam.

**Forma iuramenti canonici.**

**Item**, quod quilibet canonicus episcopo Landavenfi jurabit modo quo sequitur—**Ego H.**, canonicus Landavenfis, domino, N., Dei gratia episcopo Landavenfi, et ejus successoribus et ejus officialibus obedienciam debitam & reverentiam promitto, et quod statuta sua super statum ecclesie. Landavenfis & ministrorum ejusdem pro possibilitate mea servabo, facta et facienda, jura etiam sua et ecclesie sue defendam, & in eorum defensione fideliter assistam; fidem alienam fidei sue non preferam, nec inimicis suis sive adversariis favebo, sicut me Deus adjuvet et hec sancta evangelia.

**Forma iuramenti canonici in capitulo.** Item, jurabit in capitulo hoc verborum tenore—

**Ego H.**, observabo, quantum in me est, omnes consuetudines ecclesie Landavenfis per episcopum et archidiaconum et capitulum approbatas & statuta super statum ecclesie facta & [p. 8] facienda; consilia specialia & secreta ecclesie cathedralis Landavenfis, episcopi, archidiaconi et capituli ad dampnum eorum nemini revelabo. Item quod fidele consilium & opem, quatenus ipse potero, prestabo ad manutenendum et sustentandum omnes libertates ecclesie Landavenfis, et omnia bona temporalia & spiritualia, ad ecclesiam Landavenfem spectantia, quociens fuerit<sup>1</sup> per episcopum, archidiaconum, et capitulum suum, per capitulum, sede vacante, congrue requisitus.

**Item**, quod quilibet canonicus in primo ingressu suo vicariis choralibus et alijs ibidem servantibus sex solidos & octo denarios inter illos dividendos solvet.

**Item**, quod episcopus Landavenfis, qui residet in diocesi sua sive in manerijs proprijs sive alienis, pro canonico residente reputetur et habeatur, et singulis annis in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli communam suam sicut ceteri canonici residentes recipiat.

**Item**, quod episcopus Landavenfis annuales redditus sibi debitos & pensiones consuetas pro diversis ecclesijs ab antiquo appropriatis percipiet.

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<sup>1</sup> sic; recte fuero.



*Item*, quod episcopus Landavenfis habeatur ac femper fit quali capituli decanus, quodquidem juxta antiquas ordinationes & laudabiles confuetudines capituli ecclefie Landavenfis ut decanus omnino habeatur, qui tamen non debet dici decanus fed caput capituli.

*Item*, quod alienaciones domorum, terrarum, firmarum, vel aliarum quarumcunque rerum vel jurium episcopi Landavenfis minime fiant fine confefu dicti episcopi et fex adminus canonicorum capituli Landavenfis, in domo capitulari congregatorum, qui, in tractatu alienacionis cujuflibet perfonaliter conftituti, unanimiter propria nomina et cognomina proprijs manibus fubferibendo, ac figillo communi capitulari hujufmodi alienacionem figillando, prefate alienacioni contentiant.

*Item*, quod omnes & fingulas hujufmodi alienaciones quarumcunque rerum vel jurium capituli ecclefie Landavenfis invalidas ac illegitimas effe decrevimus, fine confenfu episcopi et fex adminus canonicorum conceffo, quod prefentes quamlibet alienacionem dicte ecclefie Landavenfis utilem effe certo fciant, ac nomina fua & cognomina fubferibendo proprijsque fingulis figillis figillando, approbent. Alijsque omnibus et fingulis folemnijf juris obfervatis, que in hac parte requiruntur.

*Item*, quod prebende dicte ecclefie, fructus feu obvenciones earundem, extraneis ad firmam non tradantur, nec alienentur, fi ipfius ecclefie canonici predictas firmas habere vel hujufmodi porventas emere, quemadmodum dicti extranei dare vel effectualiter offere, voluerint.

*Item*, quod omnis canonicus, qui in ecclefia cathedrali Landavenfi refidere voluerit, refidenciam fuam in fefto Petri & Pauli inchoaverit per tresdecim feptimanas continuas duraturam, nifi vi compulfus vel metu mortis eandem refidenciam relinquere cogatur; quod fi forte contingat, pro rata porcionis refidencie [p. 9] in fefto predicto porcionem precipiat. Ac etiam deinceps quotannis refidenciam fuam facere per duodecim feptimanas vel continuas vel interpolatim tenebitur, alioquin nullam pecuniarum porcionem habeat refidenfario debitam.

*Item*, quod, cum fecundum confuetudinem ecclefie Landavenfis omnis canonicus refidenfarius unam capam choralem precij quinque marcarum emeret, ftatuimus et ordinamus quod quilibet refidenfarius ecclefie cathedralis Landavenfis eafdem quinque marcas aut vivens folvat, aut moriens relinquat, aut illius defuncti bonorum executores five adminiftratores vel ad ornamenta vel ad ipfius ecclefie fabricam, fecundum ordinationem et arbitrium episcopi et capituli, reddere compellatur.

*Item*, quod episcopus, ejufve in abfentia episcopi vicarius, & fex adminus canonici, vel eorum nomine procurator generalis pro tempore exiftens, quemlibet vicarium vel alium quemcunque in ecclefia Landavenfi fervientem admittendi, ac etiam, cum vifum fuerit, amovendi, poteftatem habeant.

*Item*, quod procurator capituli omnes redditus, fructus, ac omnia alia et fingula emolumenta quecunque ad capitulum Landavenfe pertinentia, colligat ac recipiat, ac penciones, falaria, ftipendia episcopo, prebendarijs, vicarijs, annuellarijs, choriftis, omnibusque alijs & fingulis, juxta antiquas ordinationes approbatas, annuatim folvat, compotumque omnium & fingulorum craftino Petri et Pauli coram episcopo ejufve affignato quocunque idoneo et fex adminus

canonicis quolibet anno faciat in domo capitulari vel in aliquo loco idoneo infra civitatem Landavensem, quem tunc & ibidem annuatim aut approbent aut rejiciant, ac illius loco aliquem alium canonicorum quemcunque magis idoneum procuratorem eligant.

*Item*, cum nuper laici procuratores fuerunt electi, quorum feoda in magnum ecclesie detrimentum adhuc sunt perfolvenda, statuimus & ordinamus quod nullus laicus, quisquis vel qualiscunque sit, capituli ecclesie Landavensis procurator imposterum esse possit.

*Item*, quod omnes vicarij et annuellarij in domo vicariorum ex dono Phi' Vagh'n, domini quondam de Lanovor, in hunc finem concessio semper cohabitent, quibus omnibus et singulis cameras cum gardinis in claufura juxta domum predictam adjacentem capituli procurator ordinet ac constituat, unde omnino non discedant neque pernoctent sine licencia episcopi ejusve vicarij & procuratoris capituli pro tempore existentis.

*Item*, quod archidiaconus, sede vacante, quasi decanus habeatur, qui singulas ecclesias singulis annis ecclesiasticam per se vel per procuratorem suum annuatim visitet, cujus ratione annue procuraciones sibi debeantur, quarum omnium et singularum ecclesiarum & parochianorum ibidem delinquentium excessus & defectus infra totam discesim Landavensem episcopo quotannis in scriptis exhibeat.

*Item*, quod thesaurarius ecclesie Landavensis duas habeat claves, unam ostij domus capitularis, cujus procurator capituli alteram habeat, aliam ciste in qua commune capitulare sigillum positum est, cujus aliam episcopus, aliam [p. 10] archidiaconus, quartam ecclesie Landavensis cancellarius clavem habeat.

*Item*, quod alia cista duas habeat feras, quarum alteram clavem archidiaconus, alteram capituli precentor semper custodiat, ubi liber, qui *Textus ecclesie Landavensis* inscribitur, statuta, ordinationes, rotuli, redditus, anni compotus, ceteraque omnia alia ecclesie Landavensis munimenta reponantur et custodiantur.

*Item*, quod precentor ecclesie Landavensis vicarios chorales, annuellarios, ac choristas, ut rite sua semper peragant officia, per se vel per suum subprecentorem omnino curet, et chorum, ut ad suum spectet officium, semper dirigat.

*Item*, quod nullus vicarius, annuellarius, nec chorista ecclesie Landavensis aliquo tempore, dummodo sanus sit, choro se absentet dum ibi divina celebrantur officia, sine licencia prius petita & obtenta a vicario domini episcopi; quod si fecus factum fuerit, tunc taliter se absintans a matutinis vel vespertinis precibus, vel tarde veniens post primum psalmum, per vicarium domini episcopi, vel per aliquem inscriptorem per dictum vicarium episcopi deputatum, notetur et punctetur; et si dies sit ferialis, pro qualibet vice denarium perdat; sed si dominicus sit vel festivus, duos denarios amittat, quam denariorum summam, a stipendio delinquentum deductam, capituli procurator in manibus suis custodiat, donec per discrecionem domini episcopi et capituli, aut procuratoris ejusdem, vel alijs vicarijs et alijs fervientibus divina servitia diligenter et rite peragentibus, vel alijs ecclesie usibus necessarijs distribuantur ac deputentur.

*Item*, quod nullus vicarius, annuellarius, vel chorista, nisi unius diei spacio qualibet hebdomade, et una septimana quolibet anni quarterio, ab episcopi vicario absentandi licenciam possit obtinere.

*Item*, quod omnia et singula instrumenta superscriptorum exemplificata, rotuli, redditus, indenturarum ac testamentorum copiae,



et cetera monumenta et munimenta quecumque, ad ecclesiam et capitulum Landavenſe pertinentia, ab omnibus eccleſie prebendarijs quibuſcumque ac etiam ab ejuſdem ſervientibus in domum capitulare afferantur, ac episcopo et capitulo reddantur.

*Item*, quod regiftrarius capituli librum habeat preparatum, quo non ſolummodo acta in domo capitulari habita, ſed eciam omnium et ſingulorum ſcriptorum ab episcopo et capitulo confirmatorum copie ſemper conſcribantur ac deponantur.

*Item*, quod reſidenſarius lineam illam veſtam, regia auctoritate comprobata, cum longa toga, pilio quadrato, ceteriſque ornamentis decentibus, habeat, quibus non ornatus inter divinorum ſolemnia nec choro nec ad eccleſiam Landavenſem accedere preſumat, necnon ſcholasticam eponidem dummodo aliquo gradu ſit inſignitus ad beneplacitum ſuum induat.

[p. 11].—*Item*, quod omnes et ſinguli prebendarij omnia ſua ſcripta quecumque a capitulo Landavenſi conceſſa, ſive confirmata, ſigillo capitulari ſigillata, in domo capitulari episcopo et capitulo oſtendant, quorum omnium et ſingulorum copias exemplificatas dicto episcopo et capitulo exhibeant ibique relinquunt.

*Item*, quod nullus, quicumque ſit, qui alicui alij ſervit, niſi tantum episcopi ſervus ſit, in vicariorum choralium, annuellariorum, vel choriſtarum numerum in eccleſia cathedrali Landavenſi deinceps eligatur.

*Item*, cum ex antiquis conſtitucionibus luculenter appareat dominum episcopum Landavenſem ſemper quaſdam firmas a capitulo Landavenſi habuiſſe; ideo ex ſpeciali gratia ſtatutum eſt et communi conſenſu et aſſenſu tam capituli quam episcopi quod Will'ius, permiſſione divina nunc Landavenſis episcopus, firmam eccleſie Theodorij martiris, alias de Matharn, durante termino viginti et unius annorum, habeat, ſolvendo annuatim capitulo Landavenſi decem libras ad duos anni terminos uſuales, vel, ſi capitulo viſum fuerit, ex redditibus et pencionibus episcopo predicto debitis predictas decem libras quatenus procurator capituli deducat.

*Item*, cum decime et oblationes ac alia emolumenta quecumque parrochie et civitatis Landavenſis, contra antiquas et laudabiles conſuetudines, dudum laicis admitterentur, ſtatuiſmus et ordinaviſmus quod nullo in poſterum laico concedantur, ſed ad uſum vicariorum choralium et aliorum in eccleſia cathedrali Landavenſi ſervientium ab episcopo et capitulo deinceps deputentur & reſerventur.

*Item*, quod **Godovicus Baker**, in legibus bacchalaſurius, archidiaconus Landavenſis, in feſto Nativitatis domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, die Dominico tertio poſt Paſcha, decimoſeptimo die Dominico poſt Trinitatem, et in feſto Sancti Michaelis archangeli—**Will'ius Evans**, in legibus bacchalaureus, theſaurarius eccleſie Landavenſis, in die reſurrectionis Domini, die Dominico ſecundo poſt Paſcha, die Dominico ſeptimo, die Dominico viceſimo poſt feſtum Trinitatis—**Thomas Williams**, cancellarius eccleſie Landavenſis, decimoquarto die Dominico poſt feſtum Trinitatis, et in feſto Sancti Johannis Baptiſte, et in feſto Sancti Andree—**Morganus Nicholas**, precentor eccleſie Landavenſis, primo die Dominico Adventus, in Septuageſima, et in tertio die dominico quadrageſime—**Will'ius Thomas**, prebendarius Landavenſis prebende de Longom, in feſto Philippi et Jacobi, in feſto Johannis Baptiſte, et in feſto Bartholomei—**Robertus Johnes**, magiſter artium, prebendarius Landavenſis, in die Dominico primo quadrageſime, die Dominico primo poſt Paſcha,

et in festo Sancti Petri—*Joly'nes Evans*, [p. 12] magister artium, prebendarius Landavenfis prebende de Warthacombe, in festo Johannis Evangeliste, in festo Purificationis Beate Mirie Virginis, et in die Dominico quinto quadragesime—*Andreas Peyne*, theologie professor, prebendarius Landavenfis prebende Sancte Crucis, in vicesimo primo die Dominico post Trinitatem, in festo Omnium Sanctorum, et in festo Sancti Stephani—*Thomas Ph'es*, prebendarius Landavenfis prebende vulgariter vocate flayrewell prebende, in festo Epiphanie, die Martis post Pascha, et in die Pentecostes—*Joly'nes Willi'ns*, prebendarius Landavenfis prebende Sancti Dubricij, in die Lune et in die Martis post festum Pentecostes—*Hugo Lewis*, prebendarius Landavenfis, in festo Sancte Trinitatis, et in die Dominico quinto post festum predictum—*Joly'nes Powell*, prebendarius Landavenfis prebende de Cayre, in die Circumcisionis Domini—*Rolandus Morgan*, prebendarius Landavenfis prebende de Bafhechurche, in festo Annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis—et eorum omnium et singulorum successores imperpetuum, vel aliqui alij predicatorum eorum nominibus legitime auctorizati, quotannis in ecclesia cathedrali Landavenfi concionabuntur. *Item*, quod omnes et singuli ecclesie Landavenfis prebendarij, quibus divinum predicandi donum non sit a Deo datum, alijs ejusdem ecclesie prebendarijs predicantibus, si qui illorum nomine concionari voluerint, alioquin quibuscunque predicatoribus regia auctoritate comprobatis, pro qualibet concione quinque solidos legalis monete Anglie solvendos esse procurabunt.

*Item*, quod quicumque custodierit hec, custodiat illum Deus, deprecamur, qui autem violaverit unanimi nostro consensu ipso facto sit excommunicatus. In quorum omnium et singulorum premissorum fidem ac testimonium nos, *Willi'ns*, episcopus antedictus, et capitulum predictum sigilla nostra presentibus apponi fecimus. Datum in domo nostra capitulari penultimo die mensis Januarij, anno millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo quinto, annoque regni illustrissime domine nostre *Elizabethhe*, Dei gratia, anglie, francie & Hibernie regine, fidei defensoris, &c., decimo octavo.

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## TRANSLATION.

... ON THE PART OF ROLAND AP MORGAN AND  
BLANCH VERCH WYLL'M HIS WIFE, THE SAID DISPENSA-  
TION AS FOLLOWS IN THESE WORDS—

Thomas, by divine mercy, by the title of St. Cecilia, cardinal of the church of Rome, archbishop of York, primate of England and chancellor of the kingdom, true legate *de Latere*, to our beloved in Christ Roland ap Morgan and Blanch verch William of the diocese of Llandaff health, grace and benediction. Since our most holy lord, the pope, among other things, has authorised me to decree to persons residing in my legation *de Latere* who, joined in the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity, have contracted matrimony and desire that such marriages may be made valid by force of dispensation and that the issue therefrom to be born may be legitimate as

the authority is set forth in these letters . . . . , And since on your part it was lately found that you, from certain reasonable causes moving you, desire to be united in matrimony but because you are connected by a degree of consanguinity you are not able to fulfil your desires in this respect, canonical dispensation not having been obtained, you have sent to me supplicatory letters (requesting) that I should deign to provide openly for you the sacred remedy. I therefore agreeable to your supplications by this writing, by the apostolic authority granted to me in this part, lawfully dispense that, notwithstanding the impediment which occurs from consanguinity of this kind, you may contract matrimony, and after that it has been contracted you may remain in it freely and lawfully, provided that the aforesaid Blanch was not on this account taken by force, and that no other canon law hinders it, decreeing and publishing that the offspring therefrom to be born may be legitimate, notwithstanding all who act to the contrary. Given under my seal in my house near Westminster on the twentieth day of the month of January in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven according to the course and computation of the church of England.

JO. HUGHES.

W. CLARBURGG,  
datary.<sup>1</sup>

It agrees with the original.

THE SPEECH OF THE REVEREND FATHER AND LORD IN CHRIST, THE LORD WILLIAM, BY DIVINE PERMISSION BISHOP OF LLANDAFF, ADDRESSED TO HIS PREBENDARIES ASSEMBLED IN THE CHAPTER OF LLANDAFF.

When recently, my beloved brethren, I spoke a few words to you, I then exhorted you and to this end sought that certain books not then forthcoming, in which my predecessors had left in writing the records and statutes of this most ancient church of Western Britain, pertaining to me and my successors and also to you yourselves and to this our chapter, should be produced. Which books, long lying hid in corners, covered and overwhelmed (for shame) with dust, and hitherto unknown to you, have at last come to light. When I had read them through and considered that they were very necessary to you and each of you, I was desirous that they should be brought to the notice of you all. And that this might be done quickly I decided thus to act. Since there are contained in the book, which is entitled *Ecclesie Textus*, all the ordinances and statutes of this chapter established by the bishops of this church and authorised by their seals (as is clear to all) through many centuries, I have purposely selected those which in view of the exigencies of the times should be examined, and those which I have selected I have abridged that they

<sup>1</sup> The datary (datarius) was the officer of the chancery at Rome through whose hands most documents passed.

may be the more easily understood by all. To which I have added (since according to the rule of law new remedies must be sought for new emergencies) those which my predecessors authorised, not only those befitting our church but some others of great utility, which I have decided along with the rest to explain in this place. And on this account I have undertaken that which I will not disdain to express, while I would not only beg, but beseech, in a few words, as reason demands, your unanimous consent. When this our cathedral church was lately derelict and destitute of pastoral care, it pleased the omniscient and almighty God not unjustly to elect me by our lady Elizabeth (whom, ruling her subjects justly and piously, may the ruler of all long preserve unharmed) the most serene queen of this kingdom of Britain, that I should not only be present but that I should preside over you, although some men of high rank, some of mature age, some of high character, some of deep learning, some of great wealth might have been preferred to me. For who of all these (If I speak foolishly as St. Paul said he did<sup>1</sup>) is more deserving than I am in propagating the Gospel, in extirpating the kingdom of the Roman antichrist, among all the Christians with whom I have lived, of this part of the country?

More than all others I have laboured and toiled for ten years, travelling about, according to the pressing need, that I may preach the Gospel. Wherefore if anyone should wish to gather the fruit of my labour and toil, do you not think that he does me an injury? But why should I say more? But let us finish this lest I seem to be praising myself. If however I have done what I ought to have done, I still consider myself none other than an unprofitable servant. For nothing good remains in us after the transgression of the first man our parent Adam, but all that is evil is born in us by nature.<sup>2</sup> Wherefore we are become so corrupt and wretched, sons of anger and indignation, that we are not fitted of ourselves to imagine any good thing. If there is any virtue, any consolation, any goodness, it is derived from the Father of light above, who is endued with so great and ineffable power that he could order these very stones to be turned into the sons of Abraham.<sup>3</sup> Mighty as are the waves of the sea, the Lord on high is mightier,<sup>4</sup> who appointed Moses the shepherd of sheep to be the sturdy leader of the Israelites, who ordered David while feeding his father's sheep in the fields to be made king, who called Matthew from the receipt of custom and made him an apostle and evangelist, who chose Saul the persecutor and converted him to be Paul the skilled teacher of the gentiles, who decreed that the thief

<sup>1</sup> That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly in this confidence of boasting. II Cor. xi, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, death reigned from Adam to Moses even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression. Rom. v, 14.

<sup>3</sup> For I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. Matt. iij, 9.

<sup>4</sup> The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea. Ps. xcij, 4.



hanging on the cross should be an inhabitant of heaven among the foremost. Which of these things is not marvellous? Which not without comparison? Which is the more wonderful? The merciful God did not disdain to raise poor men to be leaders, poor men to be kings, poor men to be apostles, poor men to be inhabitants of Heaven. These he willed to be pastors and rulers of his flock, to whom he ordered that all souls by his divine providence should be subject. Wherefore how great obedience is to be paid by all to the ministers of the Word by the order of God. Who is not ignorant how great reverence is due to me by all Christ's sheep, over whom he has appointed me? May I study not so much to preside over you as to be of benefit to you. This is the labour, this the toil;<sup>1</sup> since I have reached Sparta, may I, as much as I can, adorn it.<sup>2</sup>

Since this ruinous church of Llandaff has presented itself to me, may I never cease from looking after it and caring for it by turning every stone. But how can we help, besides by paying the debt? In such contempt have you held the church that you do not in the least value it. While I call these things to mind and contemplate them at home, so many impediments seem to meet me which tear my mind in various directions; the ruin of the church, the debts, the smallness of the rents, and your contempt. Would that you would recall to your memory that this church, founded in the time of Dubricius the archbishop (who consecrated Daniel the first bishop of Bangor), the metropolitan church of Llandaff, was sumptuously built by the virtuous liberality of princes, enriched with a great store of books, vestments, vessels of gold and silver, perfected with great buildings, surrounded by many houses of prebendaries, adorned on one side with the court of vicars, and decorated on the other side with the house of the archdeacon!

All of which being pulled down or prostrate and levelled with the ground, when you see only this church untidy, full of dirt, and almost beyond repair, who of you is not quite overcome by anxiety of mind? Let us maintain it such as it is lest in our time it altogether perish, which most certainly can be done, by repairing day by day the parts about to fall, provided that you strain your nerves with me while each does his part.

And that we move quickly, let us appoint fewer vicars-choral, *annuellarii* and choristers, provided that we always have one resident preacher. If it does not succeed in this way, let us approach it by whatever way you approve. I am not ignorant of the lack of means under which you labour; to whom have you not granted large manors, many lordships, and farms? And it is not without reason that you are called lords only in name, without property. You have wasted everything, sweet-toned books, precious vestments, golden vessels, unknown treasures; to nothing all things are reduced.

Behold, look around, for nothing is left, so that it can be truly called the field where Troy stood. What consolation is there in returning here when you yourselves hold this place in such contempt? And this you are not able to help when necessity urges, except with your garments girt, and booted and spurred. Since you so much abhor this your church and the surrounding places, who will

<sup>1</sup> Virgil, *Æn.* vj, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, iv, 6, 2.

think it of much importance? You have left (for so the news has reached my ears) no house remaining adjacent to the church. Horses graze and, alas! pigs are fattened in the houses once dedicated to God, which it was not lawful for you to transfer to secular uses, and which the ministers of Christ and stewards of God should always inhabit. If you had governed the church according to the ancient ordinances and laudable customs, to which by the sacred Gospels of God you are bound and sworn, how easily might we have met the ruins, the debts, the poverty and the contempt. With all these things against us, one hope remains: If all things belonging to our church have been granted to another person against the statutes of this Chapter why should we doubt but that we may be able to repair and restore the former state? When for the same reason Urban, the thirtieth bishop of this church of Llandaff, supplicated Honorius, the second pontiff of Rome of this name, and a privilege was decreed and confirmed by a general council, he united and restored to this church the usurped jurisdictions, the lands which had been snatched away, and your prebends which were occupied by others, and all the other things which had been taken away. I leave all these things to be pondered by you and weighed in a just scale. Why do you hesitate? Why are you astonished? An Urban is at hand, nor is an Honorius absent far to be preferred to any other Honorius. For behold Elizabeth, our most gracious queen, will be at hand (whose benevolence in giving me the first-fruits I have experienced), and some most illustrious men, the best patrons of learning [Mæcenates] endued with every virtue, prudence, bravery, moderation and justice who are her majesty's councillors.

Therefore let us awake. It is time to rise from sleep. The night has advanced. But the day of salvation approaches and this is the day which the Lord hath made we will rejoice and be glad in it.<sup>1</sup> Wherefore let us put on the armour of light and cast off the works of darkness.<sup>2</sup> We have sinned, we have done perversely.<sup>3</sup> Let us therefore at once turn to the Lord and he will turn to you. Let us do penitence for our former life and confess to the Lord who is so merciful that he will forgive us all our sins, whose faithful stewards let us be henceforwards, and always mindful of this unfortunate and miserable church of Llandaff. Go, be diligent, lean to your oars and do with me as much as your shoulders can bear with an even mind. But if I look around, all nefarious conventicles of the wicked and superstitious dogmas of the papists being rejected, I will willingly defend you and all your things as far as in my power, otherwise, with the help of God, I will extirpate you by the roots.

But since this stormy ship your church has been entrusted to me of which you have chosen me the master, receive the necessary sails prepared for it. I have brought with me your ordinances anciently used to which I have added some equally useful which, I trust you will accept, together with the others, in good part and confirm them with me with the seal of our chapter. Then if you give your swelling sails to the whisperings winds and are of good and unfailing mind you will navigate into harbour. I will not detain you longer, but we will proceed to the articles, for I have said what I had to say.

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxviii, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. xiii, 12.

<sup>3</sup> I Kings, viii, 47.



CUSTOMS AND ORDINANCES OF THE CHURCH  
OF LLANDAFF.

We, William by divine permission bishop of Llandaff, and the Chapter of the cathedral church of Llandaff, those persons having been summoned who in this matter ought to be summoned and the solemnities having been observed which in this matter are required, do establish and ordain, First, that the bishop of Llandaff, after he enters the church on the day of his enthronisation, shall swear in the words that follow :—

*Form of oath of the bishop of Llandaff.*

I, N., by divine permission bishop of Llandaff, will maintain and likewise defend, as I shall know and be able to the best of my ability, against all mortals, as often as need be, the rights and all the liberties of the same, and also will preserve the laudable customs and statutes of the said cathedral church of Llandaff published and approved and hitherto of old used, both as regards the state of the same church and of its canons and other ministers, as much as in me is, so help me God.

*Form of oath of the bishop in the chapter house.*

And that he swear in the following words, before a place is assigned to him in the chapter house :—

I, N., by divine permission bishop of Llandaff, in so much as I am a canon of the church of Llandaff, do faithfully promise that, as much as in me is, I will preserve inviolate all the laudable customs of the church of Llandaff approved by myself and the chapter and also the statutes made and to be made concerning the state of the church, so help me God and his holy gospels. And that I will never reveal to anyone the special councils and secrets of the church and chapter of Llandaff to their discredit and that I will take and likewise give counsel and help in maintaining and sustaining all the liberties of the church of Llandaff and all goods temporal and spiritual thereto belonging, so far as I can.

*Form of oath of a canon.*

That every canon shall swear to the bishop of Llandaff as follows :—

I, N., canon of Llandaff, do promise due obedience and reverence to the lord N., by the grace of God bishop of Llandaff, and to his successors and to his officials, and that I will preserve the statutes made and to be made concerning the state of the church of Llandaff and the ministers of the same to the best of my ability ; I will also defend his laws and those of his church and I will faithfully assist in their defence ; I will not prefer the faith of another to his faith, nor will I favour his enemies or adversaries, so help me God and these holy gospels.

*Form of oath of a canon in the chapter.*

He will swear in the chapter in these words:—

I, N., will observe, as much as in me is, all the customs of the church of Llandaff approved by the bishop and archdeacon and chapter; I will never reveal to anyone the special councils and secrets of the cathedral church of Llandaff, of the bishop, of the archdeacon and of the chapter, to their detriment. I will take faithful counsel and help, as far as I can, in maintaining and sustaining all the liberties of the church of Llandaff and all the goods, temporal and spiritual, belonging to the church of Llandaff, as often as I shall be required by the bishop, the archdeacon and chapter, and by the chapter when the see is vacant.

*And*, that each canon at his first entry shall pay to the vicars choral and to the others there serving six shillings and eight pence to be divided between them.

*And*, that the bishop of Llandaff who resides in his diocese or in his own manors or elsewhere shall be reckoned and considered a resident canon, and shall receive each year his commons at the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, as do the other resident canons.

*And*, that the bishop of Llandaff shall receive the annual rents due to him and the accustomed pensions for the churches anciently appropriated.

*And*, that the bishop of Llandaff, shall be considered and always be the dean of the chapter, that according to the ancient ordinances and laudable customs of the chapter of the church of Llandaff he shall be held as in every way the dean, but he shall not be called dean but head of the chapter.

*And*, that alienations of houses, lands, farms or of other things whatsoever or of the rights of the bishop of Llandaff shall not be made without the consent of the said bishop and of six at least of the canons of the chapter of Llandaff assembled in the chapter house, who, personally appointed for the transaction of any alienation, shall unanimously consent to the aforesaid alienation by subscribing their names and surnames with their own hands and by sealing such alienation with the common seal of the chapter.

*And*, we have decreed that all and singular such alienations of whatever things or rights of the chapter of the church of Llandaff shall be invalid and unlawful unless with the consent obtained of the bishop and of six at least of the canons that being present they know for certain that such alienation is useful to the said church of Llandaff, and approve it by signing their names and surnames and sealing with their own seals, and all and singular the other customs having been observed which in this part are required.

*And*, that the prebends of the said church, the fruits and revenues of the same shall not be granted to farm to strangers, nor shall they be alienated, if the canons of the church itself wish to hold the said farms or to buy such profits at the same price as the said strangers were willing to give.

*And*, that every canon who wishes to reside in the cathedral church of Llandaff shall commence his residence at the feast of Peter and Paul to continue for thirteen successive weeks, unless compelled by force or fear of death he is obliged to resign the said residence;

and if this should happen he shall receive at the aforesaid feast the portion *pro ratâ* of the portion of the residence. And even then he will be compelled to make his residence for twelve weeks either continuous or at intervals, otherwise he shall have no portion of the money due for his residence.

*And*, that, since according to the custom of the church of Llandaff every canon in residence should purchase a choral cape of the price of five marks we determine and ordain that each residentiary of the cathedral church of Llandaff shall pay the said five marks when alive, or when dead shall leave them, or the executors or administrators of the goods of the deceased shall be compelled to pay them either for the ornaments or fabric of the church itself, according to the ordinance and decision of the bishop and chapter.

*And*, that, the bishop or, in his absence, the bishop's vicar, and six canons at least, or the proctor general for the time being in their name, shall have the power of admitting each vicar or any other person serving in the church of Llandaff, and also, when it may seem good, of removing him.

*And*, that the proctor of the chapter shall collect and receive all rents, fruits and all and singular other emoluments whatsoever pertaining to the church of Llandaff, and shall pay annually all pensions, salaries and stipends to the bishop, prebendaries, vicars, *annuellarii*, choristers and all others according to the ancient and approved ordinances, and shall each year on the morrow of Peter and Paul in the chapter house or in some suitable place in the city of Llandaff before the bishop or his assigns and six canons at least, make an account of all and singular, which then and there they shall annually either approve or reject, and shall elect some other canon as a more suitable proctor.

*And*, since lately lay proctors were elected whose fees were paid to the great detriment of the church, we decree and ordain that no layman whatever or of whatever sort shall be in future the proctor of the chapter of the church of Llandaff.

*And*, that all vicars shall dwell together in the house of the vicars, the gift of Philip Vaughan, formerly lord of Llanover,<sup>1</sup> granted for this purpose, for all and singular of whom the proctor of the chapter shall ordain and constitute rooms with gardens in the close adjoining the aforesaid house, from whence they shall not depart or sleep out without license of the bishop or his vicar and proctor of the chapter for the time being.

*And*, that the archdeacon, when the see is vacant, shall be considered dean who will himself or by his proctor each year visit all churches, for which cause annual procurations will be due to him, and he will exhibit yearly to the bishop in writing the excesses and defects of all and singular the churches and parishioners there transgressing.

*And*, that the treasurer of the church of Llandaff shall have two keys, one of the door of the chapter-house, of which the proctor of the chapter shall have the other, another of the chest in which the common chapter seal is placed, of which the bishop shall have another,

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<sup>1</sup> *Llanover* must be an error for some other place. No Philip Vaughan seems ever to have been lord of Llanover.

and the archdeacon another; the fourth key the chancellor of the church of Llandaff shall have.

*And*, that another chest shall have two locks of which the archdeacon shall always keep one key, the precentor the other, where the book which is called *Textus ecclesie Landavensis*, the statutes, ordinances, rolls, rents, accounts of the year, and all other muniments of the church of Llandaff shall be deposited and kept.

*And*, that the precentor of the church of Llandaff by himself or by his sub-precentor shall have charge of the vicars choral, *annuellarii*, and choristers that they properly perform their duties, and he shall always direct the choir, as belongs to his office.

*And*, that no vicar, *annuellarius*, or chorister of the church of Llandaff at any time, while he is in health, shall absent himself when services are held without permission previously obtained from the vicar of the lord bishop; but if this shall have happened, then he so absenting himself from morning or evening prayers or coming late after the first psalm, shall be noted and punished by the vicar of the lord bishop, or by some deputy appointed by the said vicar of the bishop; and if it be a holiday, he shall lose for each offence a penny, but if it shall be a Sunday or feast-day he shall lose two pence, which sum, deducted from the stipend of the transgressors, the proctor of the chapter shall keep in his hands until, at the direction of the lord bishop, and of the chapter or the proctor of the same, it shall be distributed and given to the other vicars and others who diligently serve and duly perform divine services, or for other necessary uses of the church.

*And*, that no vicar, *annuellarius* or chorister shall obtain permission from the vicar of the bishop of absenting himself, except for the space of one day in each week and one week in each quarter of the year.

*And*, that all and singular the instruments exemplified above, rolls, rents, copies of indentures and of wills, and other monuments and muniments whatsoever belonging to the church and chapter of Llandaff shall be brought by all the prebendaries whomsoever of the church and also by its servants to the chapter-house, and be rendered to the bishop and chapter.

*And*, that the registrar of the chapter shall have a book prepared, in which not only the acts done in the chapter-house, but also the copies of all and singular the writings confirmed by the bishop and chapter, shall always be written and placed.

*And*, that the residentiary shall have the linen garment, approved by royal authority, with a long gown, a square hat and other befitting ornaments, and unless he is adorned with these he shall not presume during divine service to enter the choir or the church of Llandaff; and also he shall wear a scholar's hood at his pleasure if he is distinguished by any degree.

*And*, that all and singular the prebendaries shall shew to the bishop and chapter in the chapter-house all their writings whatsoever granted by the chapter of Llandaff, or confirmed and sealed with the chapter seal, of all and singular of which they shall exhibit to the bishop and chapter copies exemplified, and shall leave them there.

*And*, that no one, whoever he may be who serves anyone else, unless only he be the servant of the bishop, shall henceforth be elected in the number of the vicars choral or *annuellarii* or choristers.

*And*, since it evidently appears from the ancient constitutions that the lord bishop of Llandaff always held certain farms from the



chapter of Llandaff; therefore by special grace and with the common consent and assent both of the chapter and of the bishop it is determined that William, by divine permission now bishop of Llandaff, shall hold the farm of the church of Theodore the martyr, otherwise Mathern, for the term of twenty-one years, paying yearly to the chapter of Llandaff ten pounds at the two usual terms of the year, or, if it seem good to the chapter, the proctor may deduct the aforesaid ten pounds from the rents and pensions due to the aforesaid bishop.

*And*, since the tithes and offerings and other emoluments whatsoever of the parish and city of Llandaff, contrary to the ancient and laudable customs, have formerly been granted to lay persons, we determine and ordain that in future they be granted to no layman, but be kept and reserved henceforth by the bishop and chapter to the use of the vicars choral and of others serving in the cathedral church of Landaff.

*And*, that Lewis Baker, bachelor of laws, archdeacon of Llandaff, on the feast of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, the third Sunday after Easter, the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity, and the feast of St. Michael the archangel; William Evans, bachelor of laws, treasurer of the church of Llandaff, the day of the resurrection of our Lord, the second Sunday after Easter, the seventeenth and the twentieth Sunday after Trinity; Thomas Williams, chancellor of the church of Llandaff, the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity, the feast of St. John the Baptist, and the feast of St. Andrew; Morgan Nicholas, precentor of the church of Llandaff, the first Sunday in Advent, Septuagesima, and the third Sunday in Lent; William Thomas, prebendary of the prebend of Llangwm, the feast of St. Philip and St. James, the feast of John the Baptist, and the feast of Bartholomew: Robert Johnes, M.A., prebendary of Llandaff, the first Sunday in Lent, the first Sunday after Easter, and the feast of St. Peter; John Evans, M.A., prebendary of the prebend of Warthacombe, the feast of St. John the Evangelist, the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, and the fifth Sunday in Lent; Andrew Veyne, D.D., prebendary of the prebend of St. Cross, the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, the feast of All Saints, and the feast of St. Stephen; Thomas Phillips, prebendary of the prebend of Fairwell, the feast of the Epiphany, Tuesday after Easter, and the day of Pentecost; John Williams, prebendary of the prebend of St. Dubricius, Monday and Tuesday after the feast of Pentecost; Hugh Lewis, prebendary of Llandaff, the feast of Trinity, and the fifth Sunday after Trinity; John Powell, prebendary of the prebend of Caerau, the day of the Circumcision of our Lord; Rowland Morgan, prebendary of the prebend of Baschurch, the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin; and all and singular their successors for ever lawfully authorised will preach yearly in the cathedral church of Llandaff.

*And*, that all and singular the prebendaries of the church of Llandaff, to whom the divine gift of preaching has not been given by God, shall cause to be paid five shillings of lawful money of England to other prebendaries of the same church preaching, if any wish to preach in their name, or to other preachers approved by royal authority, for each sermon.

*And*, that whoever will keep these, we pray, may God keep him,

but whosoever violates them, by our unanimous consent let him, *ipso facto*, be excommunicated.

In faith and testimony of all and singular the above, we, William, the aforesaid bishop, and the chapter aforesaid have caused our seals to be affixed to these presents. Dated in our chapter house on the thirtieth day of January, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-five, and in the eighteenth year of the reign of our most illustrious lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God queen of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.

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It will be of interest to give the oath taken by Robert Jones the proctor of bishop Blethin.<sup>1</sup>

I, Roberte Jones, master of Arts, proctour to the reverende ffather Willyam Blethin, Baccheler of Lawe, electe Bysshop of landaff, doo utterlie testifie and declare in my Conscience that the Quenes highnes is the onelie Supreeme hedde and governour of this realme and of all other her hignes Dominions and Countries, aswell in all Spirituall or Eccleciasticall thinges or causes as temporall. And that no foreyne prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, Superioritie, preheminance or auctoritie, ecclesiastical or spirituall, within this realme. And therefore I doo utterlie renounce and forsake all forayne Iurisdiction, powres, superiorities and auctorities, and doo promise that fromhenceforthe I shall beare faithe and trewe allegiance to the Quenes highnes, her heires and Lawfull successoures. and to my powre shall assist and defende all Iurisdctions, priveledges. preheminences and auctorities, grauntid or belonginge to the Quenes Maiestie, her heires and successours, or united or annexed to the imperiall Crowne of this realme. So god me helpe, and the contentes of this booke.

ROBERTUS IONES, procurator electi.

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<sup>1</sup> This was sent me by the Rev. Claud Jenkins, librarian at Lambeth Palace to the bishop of London. The reference is Reg. Parkes II, f. 8b.







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